FRENCH AND BRITISH PRESS PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR: IDEOLOGY, ICONOGRAPHY, *MENTALITÉ*.

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis has aimed to investigate the value of photographs to the study of history. It argues that photographs, as "witnesses in spite of themselves," constitute a rich source of historical evidence, providing direct insight not into their ostensible subjects so much as the particular ideological and cultural cast of the society in which they function. It argues that a society's common attitudes and beliefs are present in photographs in a way they are not in more literal discourse, and that the study of photographs offers the historian privileged access to that society's perceptual framework.

In proposing as its case-study the relationship between war and photography during the Spanish Civil War, this thesis has examined 3,000 photographs printed in six French and six British illustrated publications across the political spectrum. It has focused most intensely upon the months between July and December 1936 as the period of most concentrated propagandist activity, but includes two particularly valuable publications from 1938-39. It has explored a number of critical theories in analysing these images, drawing chiefly upon structuralism, semiology and the *histoire des mentalités*.

This thesis concludes that the photographs examined in the French and British press often had little beyond fortuity to do with the conflict in Spain. Instead, these images hollowed out the specificity of Spain and filled it with assumptions particular to 1930s Britain and France concerning issues such as soldiering, gender, urban and social life, and mortality. Although each image was mobilised in the interests of propaganda, like all photographs their meaning was nevertheless dependent upon the cultural assumptions outside them to which they referred, and was determined by their context and use. This thesis thus concludes that photographs are replete with information about the collective imagination of the society in which they have currency and can thereby offer the historian a specific means of recovering the past.

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INTRODUCTION

> La logique rationelle...n'exerce qu'une faible influence sur la conduite des individus et des nations. Ce sont surtout des éléments affectifs, mystiques et collectifs qui conditionnent leur existence. [En ce qui concerne] la guerre européenne...on découvre bientôt que des forces supérieures dirigent les pensées, les sentiments et les actions des combattants. La lutte utilise des armes materielles. [Mais] les vrais conducteurs de ces armes sont des forces psychologiques...Des forces immaterielles sont donc les vrai directrices de combat.
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> Le Bon, Gustave: Enseignements psychologiques de la guerre européenne, pp9-11.[1]

War and photography, at least in the twentieth century, have shared an inextricable history. Indeed the priority of the visual in the business of warfare has developed to such an extent that vision, image and representation have themselves become arms in combat, even beginning to overtake conventional weapons in military and strategic importance.[2] From the first pairing of combat vehicle and camera during the First World War, through the "assumption of cybernetics into the heavens" with the science-fiction splendour of Reagan's Star Wars programme,[3] to the infra-red imaging allowing night vision of enemy positions in the recent Gulf War, the notion of the visible and the filmic have shared a preeminent place in the history of modern war.[4] For Paul Virilio, historian of warfare and vision, this relationship culminated in "the blinding Hiroshima flash which literally

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[1] Le Bon, Gustave: Enseignements psychologiques de la guerre européenne, Flammarion, Paris, 1916, pp9-11.

[2] Indeed, in War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception, (Verso, London, 1989, p4), Paul Virilio writes that "a war of pictures and sounds is replacing the war of objects (projectiles and missiles)."

[3] Ibid, pp1-7.

[4] Virilio observes that "from the original watch-tower through the anchored balloon to the reconnaissance aircraft and remote-seeing satellites, one and the same function has been endlessly repeated, the eye's function being the function of a weapon." Ibid, p3.

photographed the shadow cast by beings and things, so that every surface immediately became war's *recording* surface, its *film.*"[5]

Photographs also play a powerful role in arenas sometimes far from the scene of hostilities. Virilio himself, although describing the genesis of modern, cinematic war, provides a clue to the importance of this phenomenon. "In industrialised warfare," he writes,

> ...where the representation of events outstripped the presentation of facts, the image was starting to gain sway over the object, time over space. Soon a conflict of strategic and political interpretation would ensue, with radio and then radar completing the picture.[6]

Emphasizing the centrality of the image and the importance of interpretation, and the precedence of representation over fact, Virilio could as well have been describing the characteristics of visual propaganda, of photographs used as weapons in a less violent but more insidious war. For photographs used as propaganda can play a decisive role in the outcome of a particular conflict. In wars in which foreign intervention is an issue, photographs can be crucial in influencing public opinion; this is especially true in the countries whose involvement is sought, or indeed who impose it. It is the photographs mobilised on this second, propagandist front with which this thesis is primarily concerned.

This thesis wishes to demonstrate that, contrary to their aura of fortuitous objectivity, photographs are always cast in specific and deliberate terms. In the case of propaganda photographs, these terms are the more clearly because more urgently pronounced. Inflected and adapted to ensure maximum persuasive effect, such images used as propaganda correspond directly to the cultural concerns of the society to which they are directed, both in the subjects chosen to be represented and in the way those subjects are portrayed. Such images, it is argued, provide but minimal information about what they literally depict; they reflect far more richly upon the attitudes and preoccupations of the society that deploys them and in which they have meaning. Thus it follows that

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[5] Ibid, p68.

[6] Ibid, p1.

photographs used as persuasive weapons in a war of propaganda, whether current or past, intentionally articulate the concerns of that society; by moving beyond their surface contents the historian can gain privileged access to the collective imagination of that time.

The Spanish Civil War is an ideal context for the study of press photographs of conflict. Coinciding with the establishment of the great picture magazines of the thirties, it was the first war to be extensively photographed for a mass audience.[7] It was also the first modern war in which foreign involvement was critical. Since such intervention was theoretically tied to public opinion, at least in the foreign democracies, and this opinion informed by images as well as texts,[8] the press photographs of the Spanish Civil War can be understood as weapons rather than simple illustrations. Virilio's assertion - that visibility itself is an instrument of combat - acquires thereby a special force.[9]

Dubbed anecdotally "the most photogenic war anyone has ever seen,"[10] the civil war in Spain produced vast quantities of unremarkable images and a handful of photographs of quite extraordinary impact. Fifty or more years on, these images have lost none of their power to move, now benefitting from a *fin de siècle* nostalgia for a time when issues seemed clear and commitment easy, the cornerstones of today's civil war myth. But the interest of these images lies less in their actual contents than in what they represent, the

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[7] Our visual memory of the civil war owes much to the concurrent rise of these magazines, all of which were founded just prior to or during the conflict. In France, the picture magazine Vu was first published in 1928; its example inspired the founders of the American magazine Life in 1936. Regards was transformed into a weekly photographic publication in 1934 and expanded from 16 to 24 pages in February 1936, while Match, and the most famous British photographic magazine Picture Post, were both launched in 1938.

[8] Herbert Southworth writes in Le Mythe de la croisade de Franco (Éditions Rudeo Ibérico, Paris, 1964, p7): "L'opinion publique sur la guerre civile d'Espagne elle-meme eût de l'importance...dans les pays où l'opinion publique pouvait être influencée par la propagande des deux antagonistes et finalement déterminer l'action gouvernementale...La bataille pour gagner l'opinion publique se déroula en France, en Angleterre, aux États-Unis, en Scandanavie, en Belgique, en Hollande et en quelques secteurs de l'Amérique latine."

[9] Susan Sontag's words too achieve more than metaphorical weight when she remarks that "a camera is sold as a predatory weapon...Manufacturers reassure their customers that taking a picture is...as simple as pulling the trigger," and that this relationship between camera and guns is inscribed into the very language of photography "whenever we talk about "loading" and "aiming" a camera, about "shooting" a film." (On Photography, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979, p14.)

[10] Cited in Cockburn, Claud: In Time of Trouble: An Autobiography, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1956, p252.

visible expressions of society's deeper fears and aspirations in crisis. K.W. Watkins for example argues that the Spanish Civil War created the "greatest schism in modern British History, something which the passage of time has failed to close";[11] Paul Preston describes the war as "very much the nodal point of the 1930s";[12] while Bodin and Touchard characterise it as a touchstone for the French left, "un signe de ralliement pour tous ceux qui refusèrent en 1936 de considérer le général Franco comme un nouveau croisé."[13] With seemingly everyone from writers to politicians to the Liverpudlian unemployed taking sides over Spain, the civil war took on an unprecedented urgency in the way it was lived and believed in and represented. More than in any other previous war, and possibly any war since, photographs of Spain became images not just *of* but *in* conflict. And none of them was indifferent.

In privileging photographs as the focus of this study, this thesis has set itself a very specific task. It seeks to explore images of conflict not for what they depict so much as for how they were used, how they themselves became elements of and stakes in the struggle instead of just witnesses to it. The concept of photographs as weapons is thus paramount and intrinsic. Through its examination of press photographs as they were published in six French and six British illustrated publications throughout the first six months of civil war, its quest is ultimately the historical. It seeks not an exegesis of press coverage of the events of 1936 in Spain, nor even to present new insights into the war's events and ramifications; rather its subject is photography, and Spain its case study. If its conviction is the richness of photographic documents as bearers of historical information, its purpose is to demonstrate the validity of this claim.

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[11] Watkins, K.W.: Britain Divided: The Effects of the Spanish Civil War on British Political Opinion, Thomas Nelson, London, 1963, p4.

[12] Preston, Paul: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1986. Tony Bennett similarly describes events in Spain as occupying "a position of nodal political significance." See his "Media, "Reality", Signification," in Gurevitch, Michael, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (eds): Culture, Society and the Media, Methuen, London, 1982, p290.

[13] Bodin, Louis et Jean Touchard: Front populaire 1936, Armand Colin, Paris, 1961, p188.

According to the semiologist Roland Barthes, the most effective method for studying photographs is through the selection of "un corpus varié mais reserré dans le temps";[14] this thesis has therefore restricted itself to the examination of a sequence of images over a limited time-span. The months between 18 July and 31 December 1936 were chosen for being the most rewarding to detailed examination. They represent the period of most concentrated photographic coverage and most intensive propagandist activity over Spain in the French and British press. Issues published beyond this period have been sampled through to the end of the conflict on 31 March 1939; in both iconographical and ideological terms no new themes appear to have been introduced during those months. This stability was also characteristic of government policy, as Dante Puzzo remarks:

> The weeks and months between January 1937 and April 1939 produced no fundamental changes in the respective policies adopted by the great powers towards the Spanish conflict during the summer and autumn of 1936;[15]

it was thus during 1936 that the press' role and its attempts to influence opinion and policy can be considered most crucial. Some photographs from the later years of the war have also been included, since Picture Post and Match, two of the important illustrated magazines, only began publication in 1938. Their photographs, valuable because of their quality, do not conflict with the images published during the earlier period. In all, some 3,000 photographs have been examined.

The works of history which deal specifically with photographic evidence have yet to be written; Donald English's Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic 1871-1914[16] remains a notable exception, as does Maren Stange's Symbols of Ideal Life:

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[14] Barthes, Roland: "Éléments de Sémiologie," Communications 4, 1964, p134. See also Conclusions, p273 n12.

[15] Puzzo, Dante: Spain and the Great Powers 1936-1941, Colombia University Press, London, 1962, p168. Gabriel Jackson, in A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War (Thames and Hudson, London, 1974, p152), largely corroborates this observation, asserting that "...the policies of the major powers towards the Spanish Civil War had already been established by late October 1936, and these policies were carried out fairly consistently throughout the struggle."

[16] English, Donald: Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic 1871-1914, Bowker Publishing, Epping, 1984.

Social Documentary in America 1890-1950.[17] Although written from within the discipline of Art History, her work matches aesthetic with historical and political insight, arguing that:

> ...documentary, a central mode of communication, has assisted the liberal corporate state to manage not only our politics but also our aesthetics and our art.[18]

Stange's refusal to centre her work wholly around the achievement of individual photographers, recognising the crucial role of editors, text-writers, and the agencies and organisers who presented the photographs, signals a growing recognition of photographic documents as historically specific, their meaning closely related to the context in which they function. More usually, historical writing on photography follows the safe, chronological "history of photography" mould, merged in the case of Gisèle Freund's Photography and Society[19] with sociological interpretation; Pierre Bourdieu's Un Art moyen[20] privileges the sociological over the historical. Alternatively it is examined in relation to the fine arts, as in Aaron Scharf's Art and Photography.[21] Jorge Lewinski's The Camera at War,[22] in spanning the entire gamut of conflicts since the invention of photography, remains necessarily impressionistic and talks "around" the images rather than allowing the photographs themselves to speak.

The work of the French social scientist Henri Hudrisier is important for being among the few to consider photographs in their own right as historical texts. His conclusion concerning the relationship between press photographs and history serves as my point of departure:

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[17] Stange, Maren: Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary in America 1890-1950, Cambridge University Press, London, 1989.

[18] Ibid, pxvi.

[19] Freund, Gisèle: Photography and Society, Gordon Fraser, London, 1970.

[20] Bourdieu, Pierre: Un Art moyen: essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie, Éditions du Minuit, Paris, 1965.

[21] Scharf, Aaron: Art and Photography, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1974.

[22] Lewinski, Jorge: The Camera at War: A History of War Photography from 1848 to the Present Day, W.H. Allen, London, 1978.

> La photographie semble être un domaine historique dans lequel on assiste souvent à la construction d'une sorte d'histoire abstraite constituée de photographies qui, au hasard des premiers choix faits dans les agences de presse, donne une vision stéréotypée ou du quotidien.[23]

The complicity of photographs in creating "une sorte d'histoire abstraite" determined almost completely by the context in which they function and the institutions which deploy them, is the subject of arguably the most thorough-going and important work yet achieved in photographic theory - John Tagg's The Burden of Representation.[24] Subtitled Essays in Photographies and Histories, Tagg's book more than any other has pointed the way forward for this thesis in its exploration of Hudrisier's notions of "l'histoire abstraite" and its "vision stéréotypée de l'événement."

The historiography of the Spanish Civil War, in contrast, is astoundingly voluminous; as Paul Preston wrote in 1986, "it has generated over fifteen thousand books, a literary epitaph which puts it on a par with the Second World War."[25] Surprisingly few of them, however, have been devoted to the role of the foreign media and the representations designed to influence public opinion - a lacuna which seems the more surprising since Spain was the first in a series of twentieth century conflicts in which foreign opinion, and indeed foreign intervention, were paramount. David Wingeate Pike's Conjecture, Propaganda and Deceit and the Spanish Civil War,[26] although one of the rare works which focuses directly on the press, concentrates uniquely on the printed word. Not once in his discussion of seventy-eight French publications does he even acknowledge the presence of photographs, eliminating completely from his study of the press a major component of its communicative function. Herbert Rutledge Southworth's revelatory work

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[23] Hudrisier, Henri: Regard sur l'Algérie: Méthodologie d'une analyse photographique: l'Algérie en guerre 1954-1962, mémoire pour le diplôme du 2ème cycle, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1976, p181.

[24] Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation: Essays in Photographies and Histories, Macmillan, London, 1988.

[25] Preston, Paul: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1986, p1.

[26] Pike, David Wingeate: Conjecture, Propaganda and Deceit and the Spanish Civil War: The International Crisis over Spain 1936-1939 as Seen in the French Press, California Institute of International Studies, Stanford, 1968.

Guernica! Guernica! A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda and History[27] provides insights of inestimable importance into the vulnerability of the media to manipulation even before photographs or copy are produced; his chapter on the "The Working Conditions of the Foreign Press in the Nationalist Zone" is invaluable to any study of the media's role in obtaining and conveying information. Unfortunately, however, press photography is barely considered.

The only work I have discovered that is centrally concerned with visual representation and the media in the context of Spain is Anthony Aldgate's Cinema and History: British Newsreels and the Spanish Civil War.[28] Yet Aldgate's work promises more than it delivers, and seems to avoid embracing the special qualties of his chosen medium which make newsreels *different* from other historical sources. He sets three issues for examination: how the British newsreels covered the Spanish Civil War; what messages they transmitted about Spain; and the motives of the "men in charge of the newsreels" when forming these messages;[29] but if one of the purposes of his investigation is to "assess the value of film as a historical source," the questions he puts to his material only partially address its particular nature.

Increased interest in the photographic representation of the Spanish Civil War has emerged recently, since the fiftieth anniversary of the war's outbreak, in collections of photographs like that titled Images of the Spanish Civil War,[30] and in exhibitions like the Arnolfini Gallery's No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War.[31] Despite the value of its text, Images of the Spanish Civil War adopts an approach towards photographs which directly contradicts the contention of this thesis. The lifting of

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[27] Southworth, Herbert Rutledge: Guernica! Guernica! A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda and History, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1977.

[28] Aldgate, Anthony: Cinema and History: British Newsreels and the Spanish Civil War, Scholar Press, London, 1979.

[29] Ibid, pxi.

[30] Images of the Spanish Civil War, Allen and Unwin, London, 1986.

[31] No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War, exhibition catalogue, Arnolfini, Bristol, 1986.

photographs, unacknowledged, from their original context and the imposition of new captions with scant regard for the images' original use is indicative of the way photographs are usually handled. Yet such practices are profoundly ahistorical and contravene every methodological consideration the historian would automatically apply to any other documentary source. It condemns photographic meaning to the superficiality of surface content; it presupposes the inferiority of the visual in the process of communication; and it relegates images to mere illustration of texts to which they bear only tenuous relation. Images of Spain thus moves little beyond the romantic and the nostalgic.

The photographs included in the No Pasaran! exhibition catalogue tell a different story from the one they told on the gallery walls, from the one they told in the newspapers where most were initially published. David Mellor's accompanying essay "Death in the Making"[32] is however deeply aware of the processes of construction and interpretation inherent in the photographic enterprise. His comments on the interraction between cinematic representation and events in Spain - that the Soviet film We From Kronstadt encouraged the Republican fighters; that the photographer Robert Capa photographed the Republican cruiser *Jaime II* in direct citation of Eisenstein's Battleship Potemkin; and that André Malraux returned to Spain in 1938 to direct the film of his civil war novel L'Espoir[33] - such observations bring us directly back to Virilio's thesis on the links between cinema and war. More unusually, his essay also demonstrates an awareness that the visual record is governed by a signifying system *different* from that of the written, a concept which Aldgate does not fully consider in his analysis of the newsreel.

The illustrated publications chosen for discussion in this thesis were selected across the spectrum of political affiliation, as far as possible the illustrated newspaper or magazine with the highest circulation in each political category, broadly conceived. For the French press, unlike the British, a distinction is drawn between *tirages* (print-runs) and *ventes* (sales) in discussions of circulation; figures for print-runs are generally the more commonly used. Such figures are also more widely available for the French than the

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[32] Mellor, David: "Death in the Making: Representing the Spanish Civil War," ibid, pp25-31.

[33] Malraux, André: L'Espoir, Gallimard, Paris, 1937.

British press. The 1930s volumes of the Annuaire de la presse[34] published the papers' own, possibly enhanced, *tirages* for the attention of potential advertisers, while the Histoire générale de la presse française also includes statistics, some collated from the *prises des messageries* (press distributors' figures), for the same period.[35] Additionally, certain monographs devoted to a particular journal or to the popular front era also provide figures for *tirages*. In some cases a journal of a lower *tirage* was chosen over a higher competitor of similar political hue owing to the priority that publication accorded the photographic image - thus Le Matin was chosen over Le Petit Parisien and Le Journal, both of which had larger print-runs. Le Matin was also, however, preferred to L'Intransigeant which, despite giving a high priority to photographs, managed less than half Le Matin's *tirages*.[36]

Circulation figures which in Britain conflate print-runs and sales seem to have been nowhere collated for the British press between the wars. Nor do guides to the contemporary press, such as The Newspaper Press Directory[37] and Willings Press Guide,[38] contain circulation figures. The Audit Bureau of Circulations has compilations of some statistics, yet these remain sporadic until 1946; the loss of archives like that of the Illustrated London News during World War II has deprived historians of any circulation figures it might have contained. The researcher is thus obliged to turn to a variety of statistical sources. In his 1967 research report into The Impact of Television, William Belson lists some circulation figures for the major British daily and weekly publications for 1938, although many of his statistics are culled from the Audit Bureau of Circulations and are thus beset by the same limitations.[39] Marjorie Deane's earliest

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[34] Annuaire de la presse, Paris, 1936, 1937.

[35] Histoire générale de la presse française, tome III, de 1871 à 1940, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1972, p511.

[36] Comparative figures for March 1939, taken from the *prises des messageries* and cited in the Histoire générale de la presse française, p511, give the print-run of Le Matin as 312,597; Le Petit Parisien as 1,022,401; Le Journal as 411,021; and L'Intransigeant as 134,436.

[37] The Newspaper Press Directory, London, 1936, 1937.

[38] Willings Press Guide, London, 1936, 1937.

[39] Belson, William A: The Impact of Television: Methods and Findings in Program Research, Crosby, London, 1967, p346.

circulation figures for the British press, as tabulated in her "United Kingdom Publishing Statistics", date from 1937;[40] like Belson, she is concerned only with the daily and Sunday weekly press, omitting both the Daily Worker and all illustrated magazines from her study. The most fruitful source of figures for this project proved to be the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers' survey of The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain 1936.[41] Every one in 116 families, comprising a total of 80,000 households, was interviewed in England, Scotland and Wales, every publication currently read by any family member duly recorded and correlated with the household's income value according to one of five groups. The survey results thus provided computed readership statistics per income bracket for all the daily, weekly and monthly publications - barring technical magazines - in the British Isles. Only the Daily Worker was excluded, probably because the paper carried so little advertising.[42]

Although the survey "does not purport to be an attempt to ascertain the numerical circulation of any publication," aiming instead, it claimed, merely to "examine the reading habits of private families," and although the circulation figures it compiled were considered by the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers Ltd to be simply "co-incidental",[43] still the investigation carried out was so exhaustive in its methods and findings that the statistics it presents can safely be used as a guide to circulation - based upon sales rather than print-runs. Louis Moss and Kathleen Box's 1943 observation, in their Enquiry into Newspaper Reading Among the Civilian Population for the Wartime Social Survey, that "on average, each copy [of the morning newspapers] is seen by at least

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[40] Deane, Marjorie: "United Kingdom Publishing Statistics," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A (General) Vol CXIV, Part IV, 1951, p479.

[41] The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain 1936, The Incorporated Society of British Advertisers Ltd, London, 1936.

[42] In The Story of the Daily Worker (the People's Press Printing Society, London, 1949, p42), William Rust writes: "Our enemies have never been able to understand the finances of the Daily Worker, which appeared to them to be conducted in defiance of all the rules. Obviously our advertising revenue was very low - only during this Popular Front period did we begin to get some steady revenue from this source, in the form of co-operative society advertisements, some publishers and a few private firms."

[43] The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain 1936, pxxi.

three people,"[44] suggests that the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers' statistics could be expanded by a similar multiplier in order to obtain approximate *readership* numbers.[45] No *precise* figures appear to be available for the Daily Worker during the 1930s;[46] the newspaper is included in this study nevertheless chiefly because of the political ground it occupied. In all cases, however, French and British press alike, the circulation figures available must be recognised as imprecise; they are used in this thesis as a comparative rather than an absolute measure.

For the sake of consistency, and at the expense of regional nuance, all the publications chosen were published in the captial. The Dépêche de Toulouse and the Petit Marseillais for instance were far more immediately concerned about the streams of refugees flooding across the Pyrenees than were the Parisian dailies. Richness of response has thus been sacrificed to managability. Initially three weekly and three daily publications were envisaged for each country; for France this was altered to four weeklies since Regards, while professing similar political views, gave greater priority to images than did the daily L'Humanité. The final spread of publications is thus as follows: the French communist-inspired weekly Regards, with its *tirage* per issue of over 100,000 copies in 1936,[47] matched with the British communist party organ the Daily Worker, whose influence was probably greater than its circulation, which according to the newspaper's first editor William Rust, "during the pre-war years never rose above 50,000 copies a day and 100,000 at weekends."[48] The French weekly magazine Vu, with its broad left sympathies

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[44] Moss, Louis, and Kathleen Box: An Enquiry into Newspaper Reading Among the Civilian Population, the Wartime Social Survey, Ministry of Information, June-July 1943, New Series no. 37(a), p26.

[45] This must, however, be done with a certain degree of caution since wartime statistics cannot easily be applied to peacetime practices.

[46] But see below, n48.

[47] Histoire générale de la presse française, p582.

[48] Rust, William: The Story of the Daily Worker, p42. He does not refine the term "circulation". The Audit Bureau of Circulations' earliest figures record a weekly circulation of 87,224 copies for 1943; however this must be considered inadequate as an estimate for 1936. A measure of the paper's influence can be gauged from its supporters, who included Professor Laski, the cartoonist Low, and the author and journalist Hamilton Fyfe, all of whom sent greetings to the paper on its seventh birthday in 1937. The publisher Victor Gollancz was a regular reader, and the cartoonist Gabriel and Professor J.B.S. Haldane became contributers in 1937. See Rust, William: The Story of the Daily Worker, pp42-43.

and self-professed print-run of "presque 500,000" copies per issue,[49] found a rough equivalent in Britain in the Co-operative Movement's weekly organ Reynolds' News which, besides the Left Book Club, was in Charles Loch Mowat's view the major source of enthusiasm for a united front in Britain.[50] Its 1936 circulation level is put at 301,456.[51] The phenomenal success of Paris-Soir, which professed neutrality but drifted towards the conservative in the context of Spain,[52] was reflected in its daily circulation figures estimated at a monthly average *diffusion* (distribution) of 1,709,632 copies per issue for 1936,[53] but which frequently surpassed 2,000,000 *tirages* depending on the news of the day.[54] Its equivalent in terms of circulation figures for Britain was the Labour Party's Daily Herald, the first daily in the world to certify a net sale of 2,000,000 copies[55] and to maintain this level into 1936.[56] Like Paris-Soir, the Daily Herald remained in the top league throughout the decade. The politically conservative, quality weekly magazine L'Illustration, with an average weekly print-run of 160,000 in 1936,[57] found a counterpart in Britain's weekly Illustrated London News, of similar quality and political hue. The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain 1936

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[49] Annuaire de la presse, Paris, 1936, p557. No figures for Vu are included in the Histoire générale de la presse française.

[50] Mowat, Charles Loch: Britain Between the Wars 1918-1940, Methuen, London, 1955, p581.

[51] The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain 1936, p99.

[52] Raymond Barrillon, in Le Cas Paris-Soir (Armand Colin, Paris, 1959, p176), writes of the newspaper that, "se gardant autant et aussi souvent possible du commentaire politique général, c'est à travers les récits de ses reporteurs ou par la présentation des événements qu'il laisse paraître ses sympathies pour la cause de Franco."

[53] Bodin, Louis, et Jean Touchard: Front populaire 1936, p283.

[54] Histoire générale de la presse française, pp524-5. Bodin et Touchard (Front Populaire 1936, p283), cite 2,375,117 *tirages* for 25 April 1936.

[55] This figure was proclaimed in the newspaper itself on 3 July 1933, p1. See also the Central Office of Information Reference Pamphlet 97: The British Press, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London 1976, p4.

[56] The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain 1936, lists a net sale of 2,000,000, a figure based upon the publisher's statement. The survey estimates the Daily Herald's circulation for 1936 to be 1,745,529.

[57] Marchandieu, Jean: L'Illustration 1843-1944; Vie et mort d'un journal, Bibliothèque Historique Privat, 1987, pp325-7. Bodin et Touchard: Front populaire 1936, p287, calculate 176,389 *exemplaires* in April 1936.

estimates a circulation of 51,488 copies weekly for 1936.[58] Although initially the publication seemed undecided in allegiance, by October its pro-Insurgent sympathies were unequivocally conveyed in photographs depicting Republican soldiers as unintelligent and undisciplined, in its condemnation of "church-wreckers" who "desecrated sacred figures", and in its eulogising of General Franco in a cover photograph matched with adulatory caption.[59] It has thus been considered on the whole a pro-Insurgent publication throughout this study. The politically right to extreme right-wing daily Le Matin, which "servit presque de porte-parole de la cause franquiste en France,"[60] remained during the 1930s among "les cinq grands" claiming a daily print-run of about 500,000 in 1936.[61] It had very few permanent foreign correspondents.[62] Rivalling it for political outspokenness in Britain was the Daily Mail, circulating in 1936 to 1,643,756 readers.[63] Match and Picture Post, although at opposite ends of the political spectrum, both emerged in 1938 to become the most influential weekly picture magazines of their era. Politically in favour of Franco, Match was launched in July 1938 with a *tirage* of 80,000; by October 1939 this had reached 1,400,000.[64] Picture Post was clearly pro-Republican and, first appearing on 1 October 1938, managed an average sale of 881,274 copies per issue, rising to 1,185,915 during the first six months of 1940.[65]

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[58] The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain 1936, p274.

[59] See the Illustrated London News, 24 October 1936, p727; 17 October 1936, p665; 14 November 1936, cover. Pro-Insurgent sympathies seemed to be in evidence well before this; certainly the Nationalist soldiers were portrayed in a positive light during August and September. It is however only in October that such images rendered its sympathies more explicit.

[60] Histoire générale de la presse française, p520.

[61] Ibid, p311. Le Matin's dramatic drop in circulation during the inter-war years (its 1918 print-run of 1.1 million copies a day had declined to 320,000 by 1939) is attributed to its outdated nationalistic formula which remained unmodified since the turn of the century, to competition from Paris-Soir and the left-wing press, and to a rapid rise in the price of newspapers after 1936. (Ibid, p519-20.) The four other major dailies were: Paris-Soir, Le Petit Parisien, Le Journal and Le Petit Journal.

[62] Ibid, p520.

[63] Audit Bureau of Circulations. The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals for Great Britain 1936 attributes to it a computed circulation of 1,357,336. Its publishers maintained its sales totalled an average of 1,688,688 copies per issue.

[64] Histoire générale de la presse française, p598. Match had previously been the sports supplement of the newspaper L'Intransigeant.

[65] Audit Bureau of Circulations.

Although the correlation between press reports and public opinion is impossible to quantify, the influence of the media itself the subject of considerable debate, the selection as far as possible of publications achieving the highest circulation means that the photographs they printed reached the greatest number of readers and had the greatest chance of exercising some effect upon their views. This would seem to corroborate the theory advanced by Jay Blumler and Michael Gurevitch in their article on "The Political Effects of Mass Communication," in which media influence is effected through its "agenda-setting function" which operates "not by telling people what to think, but by telling them what to think about."[66] Such concepts are opposed to the 1940s belief in the "massive propaganda impact [of] the persuasive contents of the mass media", believed to have been exploited by the fascist and war-mongering regimes of the 1930s to "manipulate people's attitudes and bases of allegiance and behaviour."[67] In the 1960s this view was modified to a belief that the "persuasive mass communication functions far more frequently as an agent of reinforcement than as an agency of social change,"[68] while the influence of television in more recent years has led researchers like George Gerbner to argue that the media has become a "prime source of socially constructed reality," defined as "a coherent picture of what exists, what is important, how things are related and what is right."[69]

While this thesis does not propose to monitor all the debates in media studies over the past fifty years, still it would maintain that in transmitting information, setting agendas and in the business of persuasion photography has played an important and at times pivotal role. One has only to consider Huynh Cong Ut's 1972 photograph of a naked Vietnamese girl fleeing a napalm attack, the image commonly described as responsible

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[66] Blumler, Jay G. and Michael Gurevitch: "The Political Effects of Mass Communication," in Gurevitch, Michael, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (eds): Culture, Society and the Media, Methuen, London, 1982, p262.

[67] Ibid, p242.

[68] Ibid, p244.

[69] Gerbner, George et al: "The demonstration of power: violence profile no.10," Journal of Communication, 29, p179, cited ibid, p257-8.

for turning American public opinion against that war,[70] or to recall that, more recently still, British photographer Donald McCullin was denied access both to the Falklands and the Gulf by the British and Saudi Arabian authorities respectively,[71] to recognise the extraordinary power of the visual, and why it is so feared by certain interests.

The Spanish Civil War broke out at a time when photography was just beginning to establish its validity in the context of the press. Although the first mechanical reproduction of a photograph in a newspaper had appeared on 4 March 1880 in the New York Daily Graphic,[72] the process was not repeated in France until 1898 in L'Illustration,[73] and it was only in 1904 that Britain's Daily Mirror became the first newspaper in the world to be illustrated exclusively with photographs.[74] In France the general acceptance and usage of press photographs was, with the exception of l'Excelsior, quite slow until 1930, with most newspaper photographs still restricted to two-column width.[75] Paris-Soir, in 1931, broke with convention. A change of ownership led to a revolution in the paper's layout, and in 1932 the paper declared:

> L'image est devenue la reine de notre temps. Nous ne nous contentons plus de savoir, nous voulons voir. Tout grand journal d'information tend à placer, à côté de la nouvelle, le document photographique qui non seulement l'autentifie, mais en donne la physionomie exacte. [Paris-Soir] va saisir par l'objectif les principaux événements de la journée...[76]

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[70] Of course the reasons for such a reversal in public opinion are probably far more complex than such claims would allow; it is a moot point whether this can be attributed to a single photograph. The image's power seems to derive at least in part from the way it crystallised certain attitudes at a particular historical juncture.

[71] See Phillip Knightley: "A new weapon in the news war," The Guardian, 4 March 1991, p29.

[72] Baynes, Ken (ed): Scoop, Scandal and Strife: A Study of Photography in Newspapers, Lund Humphries, London, 1971, p7.

[73] Borgé, J. and Viasnoff, N.: Histoire de la photo de reportage, Fernand Nathan, Paris, 1982, p17.

[74] Baynes, K.: Scoop, Scandal and Strife, p8.

[75] Histoire générale de la presse française, p475.

[76] Paris-Soir, 2 May 1932, cited in Histoire générale de la presse française, p476.

The paper thereby affirmed its belief in the reliability of facts and the objectivity of photographic truth so characteristic of the 1930s.[77]

Yet this belief in the primacy of the photographic did not meet uniform acceptance. Newspapers like Paris-Soir and the illustrated magazines Vu and Regards, which could stand beside Picture Post and Match for their sophisticated understanding of the visual, coexisted with publications like the Daily Mail and the Daily Worker which cropped their images mercilessly, or Le Matin which frequently simply reproduced a picture spread from the week or even day before if no more recent images were at hand. Jorge Lewinski's description of press photography during the First World War applied equally to these thirties newspapers:

> The general attitude to the use of photographs as illustrations had not altered since the beginning of the century. Editors continued to show little enthusiasm for photographs. Press photography was treated at best as an information medium of limited scope...Thus illustrations were of a routine nature and there was little attempt to use photographic imagery in any imaginative way.[78]

At the same time, however, advances were being made in photographic technology which would enable better quality images to be produced in circumstances previously unconducive. Smaller portable cameras, like the German Ermanox and the Leica developed in the 1920s, the manufacture of compact lenses of far greater light passing power than ever before, and faster films which, in allowing exposures to be made without flashlight, made possible both night pictures and interior shots - all these developments outstripped the attitudes of many of the newspaper editors. The result meant that in visual terms the thirties was a hybrid, transitional decade in which the power of the visual was still coming into its own.

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[77] In The Thirties. 1930-1940 in Great Britain, (Collins, London, 1967, pp278-9) Malcolm Muggeridge describes what seems with hindsight to be this 1930s innocence: "Let us at all costs be factual, photographic, was the watchword; let us be documentary, armed with facts against the dreamer and the visionary, wary of escapism's pitfalls...A camera or recording apparatus, it was argued, had no possibility of falsifying the objects or sounds they reproduced; therefore, by emulating them, truthfulness was assured."

[78] Lewinski, Jorge: The Camera at War, p69.

In France, Regards and Vu were the two publications which exhibited the greatest imagination in their use of photographs, Regards calling itself "le journal illustré du Front Populaire" despite its clearly communist pedigree. It assembled a remarkable pantheon of writers and photographers, with articles by Romain Rolland, Ilya Ehrenbourg, Tristan Tzara, G. Sadoul and Aragon, and images by Robert Capa, David Seymour (Chim) and John Heartfield appearing in its pages. Sold at 1 franc 25 per 24-page issue, Regards carried no advertising whatsoever. Vu was, according to the Histoire générale de la presse française, the "premier grand illustré français."[79] Founded in 1928 by Lucien Vogel and selling at 2 francs per issue of approximately 40 pages, Vu carried images by the German photographers Georg Reisner and Hans Namuth and from a great number of agencies.[80] It also displayed an unusual consciousness about the production of its photographs, among the rare publications to credit its images to their authors or agencies and even publishing an ironic image showing a number of photographers and journalists at work in Spain, grouped in a pack and following events from the safety of distance.[81] (Fig.1) It carried approximately four pages of advertising per issue. Although the conservative magazine Match would become the most influential illustrated magazine in France, selling like Vu at 2 francs an issue, and although it sought always the most sensational photographs for publication, it often displayed a certain carelessness in its production. Its photographs frequently bled off the page, and its captions were sometimes eliminated by cropping. In all eight of its average 48 pages were reserved for advertising.

With its 1933 printing facilties amongst the most modern in Europe, L'Illustration was produced to be collected. Its two outer pages of advertising - for luxury goods like Hermes watches, perfumes, and skiing holidays in Switzerland - were designed for easy removal, printed on coarser quality paper; the business of commerce was kept strictly

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[79] Histoire générale de la presse française, p598.

[80] Reisner and Namuth were in Spain covering the Barcelona Olympics for Vu when war broke out and stayed on to photograph the conflict, according to the exhibition catalogue No Pasaran! (p65). Reisner committed suicide in 1940, just as he was about to be sent to a French concentration camp. Vu included photographs from the Keystone, Associated Press, Wide World, Alliance, RAPHO and the New York Times picture services. Photographers included Henri Tracol, Pierre Boucher, H. Daniel, and H. Block. Further images were provided by R.A.F., ROL, Trampus, P.A.S., the Société Générale de la Presse, and by Encausse, Kitroser, Serrano, Vidal, and Meurisse.

[81] Vu, 18 November 1936, p1138.

separate from the magazine's editorial contents. Two additional paper-types were used - a fine parchment for the cover and a high-quality, glossy stock for the twenty-four inner pages. It sold at 3 francs a copy. Photographs were of considerable importance to the magazine, whose lay-out was consistently sober and symmetrical. Some effort was made to credit photographers, although often this merely amounted to naming two agencies in a caption at the foot of the page. Photographs were obtained from a variety of agencies and individuals, Keystone and the Associated Press prominent among them, while Serrano, Merletti, the New York Times, Hans Namuth and staff photographers like J. Clair-Guyot also figured frequently. If the publication's bias was clearly pro-Franco, this was expressed less in the captions to the chosen images than in the choice of the photographs themselves.

Amongst the French dailies both Le Matin and Paris-Soir were broadsheet publications, both selling at 30 centimes an issue although Le Matin only produced eight pages to Paris-Soir's 12 to 16. Although the majority of Le Matin's photographs went uncredited, some were attributed to Keystone, while the paper also sent its own photographers to Spain. Increasingly, however, towards the end of 1936, these special photographers were billeted with the Insurgent troops, pre-determining the sort of images Le Matin would eventually publish. The picture page located at the back of each issue was organised into a loose heirachy in which current affairs photographs took precedence over the human interest illustrations printed lower down. That this page always included the current serialised novella testifies to the secondary role Le Matin ascribed to photographs, equating them with entertainment, not hard news. Of all the French dailies, Paris-Soir was most attuned to the use of photographs, liberally distributing them throughout each issue rather than confining them to the picture page. Conscientious in detailing the provenance of the photographs it published as if reinforcing their authenticity, Paris-Soir also tried to achieve a certain - if spurious - objectivity by posting a correspondent with each side. Thus Louis Delaprée, who would die of wounds received in the course of duty before the year was out, was sent to Madrid, while Maurice Leroy was seconded to Franco's headquarters in Avila. There was nevertheless a sense, as Raymond Barrillon has noted in Le Cas Paris-Soir, in which the proliferation of photographs "dispense Paris-Soir de se prononcer trop nettement sur les problèmes politiques que soulève la guerre civile, et

notamment sur celui des livraisons d'armes."[82] But there was no need to read between the lines in order to discover the paper's political sympathies; these emerged quite clearly, as Barrillon confirms, in the interviews it conducted with selected Spanish leaders[83] and in the photographs it chose for publication.

Apart from the Illustrated London News and Picture Post, the British press remained on the whole less imaginative than the French in its use of photographs. While Reynolds' News, the Daily Mail and the Daily Herald included a picture page on a regular basis at the back of every issue, a residual pre-First World War attitude to photographs as "an information medium of limited scope" could be detected especially in the pages of Reynolds' News and the Daily Mail. Both image and print quality were often poor and cropping arbitrary; on occasions however they did publish photographs of considerable impact.

The weekly newspaper Reynolds' News for example, selling at 2d per 20 or 24-page copy, printed very small images throughout but always reserved its best photographs for the final picture page. Rarely credited, these images varied considerably in quality from grainy, passport-sized photographs of Spanish public figures to pictures enlarged to one third the broadsheet page depicting for example snipers on the roofs of Madrid, or civilians hurrying to air-raid shelters. The weekly Illustrated London News, in contrast, prided itself on the consistently high quality of its images. In 1842 it had become the first British publication to print images alongside its text; like L'Illustration, its layout was regular and symmetrical, though it often trimmed its photographs into oval or circular form, their borders ornamented like images in a family photograph album. Selling at 1 shilling per copy of approximately 24 pages, it carried reproductions of paintings and artist's impressions of current events beside its photographs, in a manner recalling its pictorial past. Its high quality, full-colour prints were designed for collecting and framing. Like L'Illustration too, the Illustrated London News' advertisements for expensive consumer goods and services - luxury hotels, cameras, and liqueurs - were restricted to

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[82] Barrillon, Raymond: Le Cas Paris-Soir, p202.

[83] See Ibid, p187.

eight separately numbered, detachable pages clearly distinguished from the rest of the magazine. It occasionally called on its readers to contribute

> photographs or rough sketches illustrating important events throughout the world...such contributions should be forwarded by the quickest possible route, immediately after the event...each subject sent should be accompanied by a suitable description.

The editors promised to "pay well for all material accepted."[84] Photographs, unlike drawings and paintings, were credited only rarely, implying a distinction between photography and art in the editorial eye of the Illustrated London News.

Picture Post, the most famous of all British illustrated magazines, sold at 3d per copy of at least 80 pages during 1938-39, its advertisements like those of the Illustrated London News separated from the body of the text. The importance Picture Post accorded photographs is part of its legend; Tom Hopkinson describes the magazine's editor Stefan Lorant leaving the final selection of images until the penultimate moment, only then seeking writers to produce the necessary articles.[85] Photographs were not inserted merely as illustrations of other texts, or used to fill a space; printed nearly always in sequences, and always of outstanding calibre, they were instead the *raison d'être* of the magazine and thus its first priority. It is this which distinguishes Picture Post from all its British counterparts. As a weekly, it further differentiated itself in its contents: not aiming to cover news in the same manner as the dailies, it preferred to set a topical agenda of its own.[86]

The communist party organ the Daily Worker was in 1936 an eight page newspaper which sold at 1 penny per issue, carried little advertising and printed decidedly inferior

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[84] Illustrated London News, 9 July 1938, p54. See also 4 January 1930, p2.

[85] Hopkinson, Tom (ed): Picture Post 1938-1850, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp10-11.

[86] As Hopkinson notes (Ibid, p11): "...for a magazine which is sold ten days after going to press, the one thing fatal is to follow news. It's better to be capricious - to make a number out of life on Mars, or footballers or miniskirts - than to construct next week's number out of today's events."

photographs, owing at least in part to the paper's severe financial strictures.[87] The images it did reproduce were often savagely cropped and although never credited, seemed largely of agency origin. If the issuing agency's caption revealed the slightest pro-Nationalist bias, the Daily Worker would indignantly expose this iniquity. There is no evidence of the paper sending its own photographer to Spain, although the correspondent Frank Pitcairn (alias Claud Cockburn) did venture to Barcelona in July 1936, and a number of photographs held at London's Imperial War Museum indicate that William Rust spent some months with the British Battalion of the International Brigade.[88] The rare picture pages the newspaper assembled were overtly propagandist, often combining photographs with crude line sketches; satirical cartoons were at least as important to the Daily Worker as photographs in communicating political messages.

The 1 penny broadsheet the Daily Herald varied from 16 to 20 pages, of which the last was always reserved for photographs, one often enlarged to half-page size. Photographs were also integral to its front page, and were usually included throughout the body of the paper; thus Spain often received coverage on the Daily Herald's front, back and inside pages. Of the dailies it was among the better designed, and carried only limited advertising. The Daily Mail, in contrast, gave advertising inordinate preference over editorial content, its front page frequently reserved in its entirety for the promotion of Dunlop Tyres. Unlike the Daily Herald, foreign news first appeared on page 10 or 11, after home and business news, human interest anecdotes and the court and society pages. Selling at 1d per issue of 16 to 20 pages, its back page too was devoted to images, many of which were trimmed along their subjects' silhouettes or "enhanced" with white ink. Few scruples were entertained about interfering so directly in the photographic image. Claiming objectivity by deploying a photographer in both the north and south of Spain, the paper omitted to specify in exactly which provinces the cameramen, "who shirk no

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[87] See the repeated references to the paper's precaurious financial position in Rust, William: The Story of the Daily Worker.

[88] See for instance photographs no. HU 34648, HU 34677 in Album 335: The Spanish Civil War. The latter depicts Rust standing before a number of soldiers surrounded by olive trees. The caption lists the men by name before commenting that "Bill Rust, a writer for the Daily Worker, spent many months with the batallion."

risk to secure pictures of the war for readers of this journal,"[89] were posted. In August 1936 photographers could be stationed in both north and south and still remain wholly within Insurgent territory. Impartiality was not a feature of Lord Rothermere's Daily Mail, and photographs were freely enlisted in its most blatant propagandist campaigns.

While this introduction cannot do justice to the complexity of events as they unfurled during the first half-year of civil war, at least a cursory summary of Spain's shifting political and military fortunes seems necessary to give some context to the flow of images presented in the press with little sense of their historical significance. Sparked ostensibly by the assassination of the monarchist leader Calvo Sotelo, but in reality long plotted by Spain's dissatisfied generals, what became the Spanish Civil War was initially envisaged as a rapid military coup designed to replace an "incompetent" Popular Front government with a military junta able to "save authority in a disintegrating society."[90] The military rising in Morocco on 17 July spread quickly to the peninsula provoking a parliamentary crisis which saw a succession of three prime ministers in two days. José Giral finally took the helm and armed the workers; within a fortnight the "generals' coup" had divided Spain. On 20 July the Insurgents began their airlift of Moroccan soldiers into Spain which effectively tipped the military balance against the Republic.[91] On the 25th Hitler agreed to Franco's request for aid; on the 30th three Italian planes crashed or made forced landings on route to Spanish Morocco, providing conclusive evidence of foreign intervention and underscoring most vividly the international and ideological implications of the domestic conflict. By early August the Army of Africa was advancing on Madrid from Seville and by the 14th the Insurgents had taken Badajoz amid reports of a full-scale massacre. On 4 September the Giral government fell; Llargo Caballero formed a replacement comprising Socialists, Communists and Republicans. The next day the Insurgents, advancing further into Republican territory, sealed off the French border from the Basque territories by taking Irún; by the 13th they had also taken San Sebastián. Under French and British initiative, the Non-Intervention Committee meanwhile held its

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[89] Daily Mail, 25 August 1936, p9.

[90] Carr, Raymond: The Spanish Tragedy, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1977, p69.

[91] Ibid, p88-9.

first meeting in London on 9 September aiming if not to halt the flow of material to either side, then at least to maintain the *appearance* of doing so in order to prevent the war's ignition into a general European conflagration.

After a 70-day siege by the Republicans, the Insurgents finally relieved the Alcazar Fortress at Toledo on 27 September, amid extensive publicity; on the 29th Franco was officially sworn in as head of government of the Spanish state and generalissimo of the armies. Meanwhile, behind the Republican lines, war had become revolution. On 7 October the Republican government ordered the expropriation of the lands of Insurgent supporters and on the 27th collectivisation began in Catalonia. The militias were organised into a "Popular Army" and Basque autonomy approved. The Insurgent army in the meantime continued its inexorable advance on Madrid undeterred by the action of Russian fighter planes, and began its offensive on the capital on November 7. The day before, the Republican government quit Madrid for Valencia, leaving the first XI International Brigade to assist the city's defenders. Although the foreign legionaires and Moors broke through Madrid's defences at the University City on 15 November, and although the capital itself underwent heavy aerial bombardment by the Nazi Condor Legion, the city held until the battle ended on the 23rd. Franco's Burgos regime had been recognised by Germany and Italy five days before. December saw a reorganisation of the Popular Army in the Republican Zone and the ousting of the revolutionary communist party POUM from the Generalitat - a sign of further faction-fighting yet to come. Winter brought a lull in the hostilities which would not resume their full force until the Battle of the Jarama south-east of Madrid the following February.

If many of these developments went unrecorded, either photographically or textually, in the French and British press, this was due only in part to the logistical problems encountered by correspondents in the field and to the censorship regulations operational in Spain.[92] Given the ideological position every publication adopted, whether overtly or implicitly, with regard to the civil war, there emerges from an examination of the

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[92] Herbert Southworth's chapter on "The Working Conditions of the Foreign Press in the Nationalist Zone," in Guernica! Guernica! pp45-59 shows how personality, technology (chiefly telegram and cable heads) and bureaucracy conspired against press freedom in the reporting of civil war.

photographs they printed a clear sense that what was being depicted was not events in Spain so much as a particular version of those events. George Orwell, when "looking back on the Spanish Civil War" in 1953, recognised the same phenomenon; what he had seen in the British press was "history being written not in terms of what happened but of what ought to have happened according to various party lines."[93] Further than this, the events themselves were often discounted or even lost in the interest of making more generalised ideological statements which had progressively less to do with the particularity of Spain as the war continued. Photographs, despite their seeming objectivity, played an important role in generating these alternative "truths" which they represented with the authority of fact; it is the nature of those assertions, ideological and beyond that, cultural, that this thesis wishes to explore.

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In "The Determinations of News Photographs," Stuart Hall seeks to define the nature of the press photograph, indicating how the photograph's transparency to the real allows the ideological to pervade the visual. "News photographs," he writes,

> ...operate under a hidden sign marked "this really happened, see for yourself." Of course the choice of this moment or event against that, of *this* person rather than that, of this angle rather than any other, indeed the selection of this photographed incident to represent a whole complex chain of events and meanings is a highly ideological procedure. But by appearing literally to reproduce the event as it *really* happened, news photographs repress their selective/ interpretative/ideological function. They seek a warrant in that ever-pre-given neutral structure, which is beyond question, beyond interpretation: the "real" world. At this level, news photographs not only support the credibility of the newspaper as an accurate medium. They also guarantee and underwrite its objectivity (that is, they neutralise its ideological function.)[94]

While recognising the validity of this analysis, it is my contention that the ideological function of such images is itself subservient to and determined by a broader web of

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[93] Orwell, George: "Looking Back on the Spanish Civil War" in Homage to Catalonia, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1987, p253.

[94] Hall, Stuart: "The Determinations of News Photographs" in Cohen, Stanley and Jock Young (eds): The Maunfacture of News: Deviance, Social Problems and the Mass Media, Constable, London, 1982, p241.

culturally specific assumptions and beliefs upon which ideology must draw in order to take effect, whether by undermining or reaffirming those preconceptions. As Hall recognises,

> Newspapers must always infer what is already known as a present or absent structure. "What is already known" is not a set of neutral facts. It is a set of common-sense constructions and ideological interpretations *about* the world, which holds society together at the level of every-day beliefs.[95]

Press photographs as much as the newspapers which publish them depend in a fundamental way upon these "common-sense constructions" in order to signify; this thesis seeks to flesh out the vagueness of this notion into its specific 1930s forms. The continuous dialogue between image and culture - not the culture of the photograph's subjects but of the society which produces and consumes the image - offers insights both into the way these photographs transmit meaning to the public for whom they are destined, and into the collective imagination of that society at that time.

Thus the first chapter of this thesis explores various theories of photography in relation to the historical enterprise. It investigates the manner in which photographs convey meaning in order to explore the nature of photographic evidence, and suggests ways photographs may be read to yield insights germane to historical inquiry. Adopting Michel Vovelle's notion that images are "confessions involontaires,"[96] and Marc Bloch's enthusiasm for historical sources that act as "witnesses in spite of themselves"[97] this thesis then seeks to extract these unintentional confessions by applying a variety of approaches to the corpus of photographs. Thus throughout the body of the thesis a double function is in operation: an exploration of the value of these particular theoretical approaches in terms of the historical information they elicit from the images; and an overall, on-going concern with the larger case study whose task it is to determine what insights a particular body of photographs can offer the historian.

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[95] Hall, Stuart: "The Determinations of News Photographs," p236.

[96] Vovelle, Michel: Idéologies et mentalités, François Maspero, Paris, 1982, p55. See also my Conclusion, p270.

[97] Bloch, Marc: The Historian's Craft, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1954, p66. See also Chapter 1, p50.

Chapter 2 is divided into three parts, each dealing with propaganda and myth in the representation of combattants in war. Parts A and B explore the way ideology transforms pre-existent cultural myths into instruments of propaganda in the depiction of Republican and Insurgent soldiers, while Part C, concerned with the representation of women at arms, borrows from feminist theory in order to show how mythical images of women were reconstructed for propagandist purposes. Chapter 3, concerned with the portrayal of civilian life in war, deploys structuralist theory and rhetorical analysis in Part A, which explores the semiology of the wartime city, while Part B interprets the photographer's task as that of an anthropologist whose analysis of continuity and change in Spanish society seems to reflect more deeply on his own preconceptions. In Chapter 4 the focus shifts to war's victims, Part A tackling the nature and reliability of photographic evidence in images of the dead, the injured and the sufferers of atrocities, while Part B, through photographs of refugees - the human débris of war - tests the limitations of the documentary genre in achieving the changes for which it inherently and at times so passionately called.

The conclusion seeks to demonstrate the validity of photographic records as historical documents by assembling the unintentional confessions made by every image in each chapter into a portrait of some of the features of the collective imaginations of Britain and France at this time. Concerned as much with the similarities as the differences in *mentalité* between two major European democracies, the conclusion argues that press photographs offer the historian an unparalleled means of approaching the "mind-set" of each nation - the "forces of affective, mystical, or collective origin" which guide women and men. If its power lies less in what it depicts than in the way it acquires significance and is given currency, the photograph provides privileged access to the unwritten codes which governed and still govern human aspiration and belief. How the collective consciousness in Britain and France, under the pressure of unprecedented crisis, influenced and was influenced by these "paltry paper signs" is the subject of the pages that follow.

CHAPTER 1: PHOTOGRAPHIC THEORY AND THE STUDY OF HISTORY

> Signs are not related to the things or states of the world they appear to designate, but they stand for, they stand in front of, quieter intents, words and deeds. Having read their surfaces, we can know the secrets in lying signs. *Whether* to know them, whether to jump from the sign to the silent agents of material existence, from the lie to its concealed, distant masters, from the signifier to what is forcing it to signify, this is a crisis of what has been until now tranquil, domesticated semiotics.
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> Blonsky, Marshall: Preface to On Signs, pviii.

Despite the passionate and persuasive arguments of historians like Marc Bloch, who called four decades ago for a diversification of what was accepted as historical evidence,[1] historians have shown a real reluctance to recognise and adopt visual material as a valid historical source. Professions of faith, like those of Raphael Samuel who argues that "the least historians could do, if they are not to reproduce pictures as though they were mechanical records, is to be minimally conversant with the aesthetic ideology and visual conventions of the time,"[2] remain the exception rather than the rule, as do the works of T. J. Clark[3] and Philippe Ariès[4] for whom the visual record is pivotal. There remains a tendency amongst historians to believe that "the evidence of the visual is a great deal more intractable than that of the written word,"[5] and a consequent reluctance to confer upon it the status and authority granted to the textual source.

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[1] In The Historian's Craft (p66), Bloch argues: "The variety of historical evidence is nearly infinite. Everything that man says or writes, everything that he makes, everything he touches can and ought to teach us about him."

[2] Samuel, Raphael: "Art, Politics and Ideology," History Workshop, issue 6, autumn 1978, p103.

[3] Clark, T.J.: The Absolute Bourgeois: Art and Artists in France, 1848-1851, Thames and Hudson, London, 1973; and Image of the People, Thames and Hudson, London, 1973.

[4] Ariès, Philippe: Centuries of Childhood, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979.

[5] Samuel, Raphael: "Art, Politics and Ideology," p103.

Much of the anxiety with which historians confront the established arts as documentary records is further exaggerated in the case of photographs. A hybrid between science and art, its raw materials as ephemeral as time and light, its meaning baffling without a caption to anchor it, the photograph seems initially the most elusive of records and hardly the stuff of rigorous empirical enquiry. Above all, it seems resistent to the analytical models applicable to other historical sources. As the visual anthropologist John Collier wrote of ethnologists wishing to explore "the bouquet of culture" inherent in the still photograph:

> The common experience has been that this photographic conglomeration defies validation by the controlled systems by which other humanistic data can be evaluated. When this uncontrollability is discovered, the tendency is not to use photographic data [at all].[6]

Such testimony indicates the lack of a clear methodology equal to the task of interpreting photographic evidence either for ethnographic or for historical purposes, despite the pioneering efforts of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in their exploration of Balinese character using photographic records.[7] It also highlights one of the primary problems of photographic analysis, characterised as it is by pockets of intensive investigation which lie like oases amidst the subject's great, unexplored expanses.

While the information-bearing role of the photograph shall be investigated further in what follows, it is momentarily worth considering photography's special relationship with the past which seems to confer upon it a particular affinity to the historical. John Berger for one, in Another Way of Telling, meditates upon the connections between photography and memory:

> With the invention of photography we acquired a new means of expression more closely associated with memory than any other...Both the photograph and the remembered depend upon and equally oppose the passing of time. Both preserve moments, and propose their own form of simultaneity, in which all their images can co-exist. Both stimulate, and are stimulated by, the interconnectedness of events. Both seek instants of revelation, for it is

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[6] Collier, John: Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, San Francisco, 1967, p74.

[7] Bateson, Gregory and Margaret Mead: Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis, Special Publications of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol II, 1942.

> only such instants which give full reason to their own capacity to withstand the flow of time.[8]

To substitute "the writing of history" for "the remembered" is to recognize how closely the work of photography seems to parallel that of history. But the similarity is a superficial one. While the tense of photography and the study of history may coincide in their concern with the past, their modes of operation are very different. The contents of a photograph can offer only two-dimensional information about the past, what its surface looked like, the faces perhaps of its actors. Its focus is selective, its vision is blinkered, its opinions always subjective. While photographs freeze time and seem to give the past a tangible form, they can never be more than a *point de départ* for a wealth of experience they may indicate but cannot contain. Photographs merely abbreviate the past. Laconic, they suggest more than they show, and this limitation is often their strength. But photographs signify more than the sum of their surface parts. It is confusion over the way photographs carry their meaning, and suspicion over their teasing ambiguity, that makes scholars wary of the evidence photographs embody. At worst images, and particularly photographs, are ignored by historians altogether; at best they are used merely in illustration of other histories.

It is against this last approach that this thesis is categorically cast. To argue for the recognition of photographs as historical documents in their own right requires no more than that they benefit from the same methodological rigour as is accorded other historical artefacts. Above all, their context must be respected, since it is within their context that inheres their meaning. Like other documents, photographs demand certain techniques in their reading and interpretation; such attention is as well rewarded by photographs as it is by other forms of palaeography. Questions of provenance, selectiveness and bias apply to photographs just as they do to other historical sources. What, then, is the precise nature of photographic evidence? In what way can photographs contribute to the historical enterprise beyond the stilted, mono-dimensional illustration of costume drama, to which role they are all too often relegated? How is the historian to trawl the rich, subterranean depths of photographic images without renouncing his or her identity as an historian? This

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[8] Berger, John and Jean Mohr: Another Way of Telling, Writers and Readers, London, 1982, p280.

thesis does not propose definitive solutions, nor does it detail the full multiplicity of methods by which photographs can open out onto the past. But it does negotiate a path through the forest of interdisciplinarity, seeking always historical validity from the images it encounters and the methodologies it explores. If finally it does propose an answer to the question of photography's value to the study of history, this is one generated in part by this writer's particular interests and preoccupations, in part by the nature of the photographs examined. Other historians writing other photographic histories will no doubt discover other forms of historical validity in these traces of light over time.

* * *

In The Burden of Representation, John Tagg sets out the most provocative and historically fruitful explanation I have encountered of the manner in which photographs convey meaning. His understanding of the medium is predicated not on any lyrical analogy with memory, nor on the contents alone of the photographic image, but overwhelmingly upon the context in which a photograph is used. In illustration of his thesis he asks, not simply rhetorically or facetiously, "Under what conditions would a photograph of the Loch Ness Monster (of which there are many) be acceptable?"[9] Publication in a tabloid newspaper would arouse an entirely different response in the viewer from that evoked by its appearance in a respected scientific journal, indicating the extent to which a photograph's meaning is determined by its location and use.

Linking the medium's development to the growth of the appendages of state power - to the medical, educational, sanitary, engineering and legal institutions in their late nineteenth-century florescence - and also to what Michel Foucault has termed the "new economy of power" in operation in the smallest gestures of daily life,[10] Tagg sees photographic records as a part of the growing technology of knowledge and surveillance

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[9] Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation, p5.

[10] Foucault, Michel: "Truth and Power," in Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings (ed: Colin Gordon), Harvester Press, Brighton, 1980, p125. See also "The Eye of Power", pp146-165; and Jay, Martin: "In the Empire of the Gaze: Foucault and the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth Century Thought" in Hoy, David Couzens (ed): Foucault: A Critical Reader, Blackwell, London, 1986, pp175-204.

developed by those expanding state apparatuses. It was the emergence of these "new institutions of knowledge" which enabled photographs to function within particular contexts as a form of proof; indeed outside their historical specifications they lost significance. Thus arguing the close relationship between photography and historical period, Tagg continues:

> Photography as such has no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations that invest it. Its nature as a practice depends upon the institutions and agents that define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have.[11]

Photographs then, for Tagg, do not exist as a single coherent medium; rather their operation as bearers of information is wholly dependent upon the historically-specific agencies which produce and deploy them. Above all, objectivity as a defining characteristic of photography is a myth:

> Like the state, the camera is never neutral. The representations it produces are highly coded, and the power it wields is never its own. As a means of record, it arrives on the scene vested with a particular authority to arrest, picture and transform daily life...This is not the power of the camera but the power of the apparatuses of the local state which deploy it and guarantee the authority of the images it constructs to stand as evidence or register a truth.[12]

Chameleon-like, the camera adopts the ideological perspective of the institutions which employ it, a notion which effectively dislodges the biographical approach to photographic history from any pretention to critical centrality. Finally, Tagg shifts the role of history, implicated as it is in every aspect of the photographic process, to centre-stage:

> Histories are not back-drops to set off the performance of images. They are scored into the paltry paper signs, in what they do and do not do, in what they encompass and exclude, in the ways they open on to or resist a repertoire of uses in which they can be meaningful and productive.

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[11] Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation, p63.

[12] ibid, p64.

> Photographs are never evidence of history; they are themselves the historical.[13]

Never evidence of history in terms of providing incontrovertible proof of what they literally depict, yet photographs *are* evidence precisely of the interplay of historically-rooted power relations which generate such images and make use of them. The context of their production and usage determines the meaning they transmit. Such considerations lead us far from the whimsy of John Berger's reflections on photography and memory, and from his observation in his 1972 essay on the American photographer Paul Strand that "Photography, because it preserves the appearance of an event or person, has always been closely associated with the idea of the historical..."[14] What Tagg is proposing is a far more sophisticated response to the photographic image, one which escapes the hypnotic effect of its surface illusionism in order to distinguish a deeper level of meaning.

What then is the precise nature of photographic evidence? How is the historian to gain access to a photograph's stores of meaning without simply enumerating what lies within its frame? To attempt to answer such questions it is necessary to understand the nature of the photograph itself, how it operates to communicate its messages and bear significance.

A fundamental characteristic of photography, and one which has made the "medium" hitherto seem so obtuse to the historian, is the lack of a single signifying system upon which all photographs are based, in the same way that all works in English are based upon the English language, and all music is based upon laws of rhythm and tone. Photography presents itself transparently, less as *object* than *environment*, and is distinguished by few conventions exclusively its own.[15] Less the "message sans code"

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[13] Ibid, p65.

[14] Berger, John: "Paul Strand" in About Looking, Writers and Readers, London, 1980, p47.

[15] In "Modernism and the *Work* of Art", Victor Burgin writes: "While films and paintings readily constitute themselves as *objects*, thus facilitating critical attention, photography as constituted in the mass media, is received as *environment* and passes relatively unremarked... Each photographic text signifies on the basis of a plurality of codes, the number and types of codes varying between texts; some of these are peculiar to photography (for example, the various codes built around "focus"), others clearly are not (for

which Roland Barthes proposes in "Le Message photographique",[16] the photograph instead conveys its meaning iconically through a heterogenous complex of codes, conventions built up around lighting and perspective, movement and behaviour, or drawn from the fine arts and advertising, from fashion and etiquette, from stereotypes of sex, class, age and race, to name but a few, all lifted omnivorously from the culture in which the image is immersed.[17]

The semiotician C.S. Pierce distinguished a second order of visual signification in addition to this "iconic" or "symbolic" level operating "by virtue of conventions or rules." This second order Pierce describes as "indexical," since it "[fulfils] its representative function by virtue of a character which it could not have if its object did not exist."[18] Pierce's definition seems particularly applicable to photographs, since the photograph is in fact a trace physically *caused* by its referent, in a manner "parallel to that of fingerprints or footprints or the rings of water that cold glasses leave on tables,"[19] stencilled, as Susan Sontag writes, off the real.[20] As "the effect of radiations from the object,"[21] photographs are thus also indexical signs where paintings and drawings remain iconic; it is their

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example, the "kinesic" codes of bodily gesture)." See The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity, Macmillan, London, 1986, p20.

[16] Barthes, Roland: "Le Message photographique," in Communications 1, 1961, p128. Translated and reprinted in: Image, Music, Text, (ed: Stephen Heath), Fontana, Glasgow, 1977, pp15-30.

[17] In The Burden of Representation (p63), John Tagg argues categorically that "[photography's] history has no unity." Failure to recognize the lack of a specific language as one of photography's defining charactersitics explains the fundamental incoherence of exhibitions like The Art of Photography, 1839-1989 (Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1989), which collapsed the yawning differences in code and context over 150 years of photographic practice into a single, spurious tradition.

[18] Pierce, C.S.: Collected Papers of C.S. Pierce (eds. Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, vol. V, pp50-51, cited in Stange, Maren: Symbols of Ideal Life, p66.

[19] Cited in Stange, Maren: Symbols of Ideal Life, p66. Stange's attribution of this quotation to Rosalind Krauss' article: "Tracing Nadar," October 5, Summer 1978, p34, appears to be erroneous.

[20] Sontag, Susan: On Photography, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1977, p154.

[21] Sekula, Allan: "The Body and the Archive," October 39, Winter 1986, p55.

indexical quality that seems to set photographs apart as having "special status with regard to the real."[22]

Thus photographic signification operates on a dual plane, the first constituted of a plurality of codes, the second predicated upon a direct relationship with the tangible and real. Without wishing to diminish in any way the power of the indexical argument, it must nevertheless be seen as working in tandem with the photograph's symbolic representation, giving force to its coded meanings. Over-emphasis on the indexical nature of the photograph, what Barthes terms its quality of "having-been-there,"[23] must bear considerable responsibility for generating the myth of photographic truth. Photographic truth is a circumscribed truth; it exists only within the limits of the photographic frame. And as Tagg recognises, it is a truth infinitely vulnerable to qualification, distortion and manipulation by a third variable, the context in which photographs are used.

The symbolic or iconic aspects of the photographic image have been the subject most importantly of structuralist enquiry inspired by the work of Saussure and Hjelmslev in linguistics and largely pioneered by Roland Barthes. Barthes' oeuvre is important not simply for the insights it offers into the mechanics of photographic meaning, but for exposing the structured links between a photograph's contents and the culture within which that image has currency. The cross-fertilization between linguistics and history is a rich one for the photographic historian, as a resumé of Barthes' theory of photographic signification will suggest.

Proceeding throughout his work along the linguistic path of binary analysis, Barthes first set out his concept of photographic signification in his 1956 essay: "Myth Today". In it he describes a photograph of a young black soldier saluting the French flag on the cover of a copy of Paris-Match which Barthes perused while waiting at the barber's. For Barthes

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[22] Cited in Stange, Maren: Symbols of Ideal Life, p66.

[23] Barthes, Roland: "Rhétorique de l'image," Communications 4, 1964, p47. See also Image, Music, Text, pp44-6.

this was "a rich, fully experienced, spontaneous, innocent, *indisputable* image"[24] which signified a further concept beyond the surface subject - the myth of a benevolent empire, one that "all [France's] sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve."[25] Barthes thus identified a dual process of signification, detecting a literal and an implied meaning which he termed "image" and "concept". This distinction Barthes further refined in his 1961 essay: "Le Message photographique" in which he opposed the linguistic notions of "le message dénoté," a sign perfectly analogous with reality, to "le message connoté" which he characterized as "la façon dont la societé donne à lire, dans un certain mesure, ce qu'elle en pense."[26] Thus to return to the Paris-Match image, the saluting "soldier" constituted the image's denotation, while its connotation resided in the dependent notion of the French empire, benevolent and served by willing subjects. For Barthes, the whole process of photographic signification is paradoxical, since the connoted (or coded) message is inextricably linked to and develops upon the basis of a "message sans code".[27]

In his 1972 essay: "The Third Meaning," Barthes conflated the notions of denotation and connotation into the single concept of the "obvious" meaning, which he opposed to the "obtuse" meaning - that which, "in the image, is purely image (which is in fact very little)."[28] This new binary opposition Barthes carried through into his final, most elegiac work, Camera Lucida, in which he searches for a photograph which could capture the essence of his recently deceased mother. In it he seems to retreat from his earlier systematic, semiotic analyses to a position which privileges subjective experience over

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[24] Barthes, Roland: "Myth Today," Mythologies, Grafton Books, London, 1973, p128.

[25] Ibid, p125. In his article: "The Hell of Connotation" (Word and Image, 1(2), April-June 1984, pp168-9), Steve Baker indicates a number of discrepancies between the image itself and Barthes' recollection of it. Baker points out that the black soldier can be no more that ten or eleven years old, an *enfant de troupe* rather than a military officer, and that the tricolour is in fact absent from the photograph - Barthes only said "probably" when describing the object of the boy's salute. These details Baker cites as evidence of the degree to which an image can fail to convey its full intended meaning, even despite the presence of a caption.

[26] Barthes, Roland: "Le Message photographique," p129.

[27] ibid, p130.

[28] Barthes, Roland: "The Third Meaning," Image, Music, Text, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow, 1977, p61.

material reality.[29] The obvious meaning now becomes Barthes' "studium", while the obtuse element contracts into what he terms the "punctum" - that tiny detail which "breaks (or punctuates) the studium... which rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow and pierces me..."[30] Seemingly contradicting his earlier writings on photography, this last work is not necessarily incompatible with them. Although throughout his writings Barthes varied the relative importance of the basic connotation/denotation opposition, he never abandoned it completely, and its significance for theory lies in the importance it attributes to the role of the reader in the production of photographic meaning.[31] As he recognised, no photograph conveys its connotations in a vacuum.

In this regard it is worth returning to Barthes' 1961 essay "Le Message photographique." In its final paragraph Barthes moves towards a broader understanding of the implications of the codes of connotation for disciplines beyond the semiotic, linking these codes loosely to their cultural context.

> L'analyse des codes permet peut-être de définir historiquement une société plus facilement et plus sûrement que l'analyse de ses signifiés...Hegel a mieux défini les anciens Grecs en esquissant la façon dont ils faisaient signifier la nature, qu'en décrivant l'ensemble de leurs "sentiments et croyances" sur ce sujet...[32]

he begins, maintaining that an exploration of the ways in which a society communicates certain concepts reveals more about that society than do any of its writings explicitly concerned with the same subject. Finally, he turns to the field of press photography as one particularly suited to this purpose in modern society.

> En essayant de reconstituer dans sa structure spécifique le code de connotation d'une communication aussi large que la photographie de presse, nous pouvons espérer retrouver, dans leur finesse même, les formes dont notre société use pour se rasséréner, et par là-même saisir la mesure,

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[29] Victor Burgin describes this shift of emphasis as phenomenological in its orientation. See his: "*Re-reading* Camera Lucida" in The End of Art Theory, p79.

[30] Barthes, Roland: Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, Fontana, London, 1984, p26.

[31] Victor Burgin applauds Barthes' contribution for "the emphasis thus placed on the *active* participation of the viewer in producing the meaning/affect of the photograph." See his "*Re-reading* Camera Lucida," p88.

[32] Barthes, Roland: "Le Message photographique," p138.

> les détours et la fonction profonde de cet effort: paradoxe...qui fait d'un objet inerte un langage et qui transforme l'inculture d'un art "méchanique" dans la plus sociale des institutions.[33]

In recognising that the insights opened up by press photographs could paradoxically transform a mechanical invention into the most social of institutions, Barthes provided the first indication of photography's potential as a source of evidence for the historian.

For photography bears an intimate relationship to the culture in which it is immersed. Umberto Eco, although taking issue with Barthes over the concept of the photograph as an uncoded visual message, expands Barthes' suggestion by arguing that the image and its "framework of cultural reference" are inextricably intertwined, that the viewer's "ideological, ethical, religious standpoints, his psychological attitudes, his tastes, his value systems etc" constitute his "patrimony of knowledge" which interacts with the image, and determines the selection of codes with which the image is read.[34] It is through these codes that "power and ideology are made to signify,"[35] since the emitter must convey his intentions by means of them.[36] If this is accepted, then it follows that the photograph can provide an entrance to the particular cultural and ideological cast of the society within which it functions.

But how is the historian to gain access to the cultural and ideological insights of the photographic image, especially since the greater part of the information photographs bear

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[33] Ibid.

[34] In "Towards a Semiotic Inquiry into the Television Message," (Working Papers in Cultural Studies 2, Spring 1972, pp115-6) Eco writes: "Codes and sub-codes are applied to the message in the light of a general framework of cultural references, constituting the receiver's patrimony of knowledge...Both the organization and technical interpretation take for granted in the receiver [this] framework of cultural references...This framework, which we could call ideology, (using the word in its broadest sense), constitutes a system of assumptions and expectations which interact with the image and determine the selection of codes with which to read it. We have then an ideological system (system of meanings pre-existent with the message) interacting with a system of rhetorical devices (codes and subcodes) which regulate the relationship of sign vehicles to meanings in the message."

[35] Hall, Stuart: "Encoding/Decoding," in Culture, Media, Language, Hutchinson, London, 1980, p134.

[36] As Eco notes, the intentions of the emitter can be made clear through such signifying systems, "but not the way in which the message has been received." See: "Towards a Semiotic Enquiry into the Television Message," p116.

resides not within their manifest contents, but in the way the image is structured to connote what lies outside it and beyond it, in the way it refers to and "invokes what is not shown"?[37] In his essay "Rhétorique de l'image", Barthes proposed a solution.

> À l'idéologie générale, corréspondent en effet des signifiants de connotation qui se spécifient selon la substance choisie. On appellera ces signifiants des 'connotateurs' et l'ensemble des connotateurs une 'rhétorique': *la rhétorique apparaît ainsi comme la face signifiant de l'idéologie.*[38] (my italics)

Thus, following Barthes, figures of rhetoric are the means by which the surrounding ideology is introduced into the photograph, rhetoric itself understood as "the moment when the code, (normally unconscious), betrays and confesses its presence."[39] Barthes was proposing rhetorical analysis as a method of investigating the way in which photographs signify, and speculated that the metonym (in which one signifier is substituted for another) and asyndeton (the elimination of grammatical links) would be found to be the rhetorical devices most common among photographic images.

In a 1970 essay: "Rhétorique et image publicitaire," Jacques Durand successfully put the rhetorical model of analysis into practice in the context of the advertising image. In doing so, Durand found that all figures of rhethoric operate through the mock transgression of a norm, whether of language, morality, society, logic, the physical world or reality.[40] This concept suggests that cultural and ideological assumptions of some significance are inscribed within all photographs; it also, inadvertantly, advances a means of gaining access to those assumptions. If the values of a society are revealed in their transgression, then a movement back through the image to the preconceptions underlying it ought to reveal the cultural and historical particularities upon which those preconceptions rest. Using photographs in this way, as "witnesses in spite of themselves," is eminently suited

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[37] Berger, John: "Understanding a Photograph," in Trachtenberg, Alan (ed): Classic Essays on Photography, Leete's Island Books, Connecticut, 1980, p293.

[38] Barthes, Roland: "Rhétorique de l'image," Communications 4, 1964, p49.

[39] Burgelin (1968) cited in Hall, Stuart: "Deviance, Politics and the Media," in Rock, Paul and Mary McIntosh (eds): Deviance and the Media, Tavistock Publications, London, 1974, p280.

[40] Durand, Jacques: "Rhétorique et image publicitaire," Communications 15, 1970, p71. See also, above Chapter 3: Part A: Semiology and the Changing Cityscape, p154ff.

to their intrinsic nature. So adroit at disguise, so skilful at naturalising their contents,[41] so masterful at "displacing the ideological connection to the archetypal level of the *natural and universal* in order to conceal its *specifically ideological* nature,"[42] the photographic operation is at once subtle and highly determined and requires a critical method capable of penetrating its sophisticated *trompe-l'oeil.*

I have dwelt at some length on these specific developments in semiotics in an attempt to escape from what the structuralist critic Judith Williamson admits is "the danger in structural analysis...its introversion and lack of context."[43] I have tried to highlight the areas in which structuralist theory intersects with ideology in order to demonstrate above all the need to read photographs obliquely, to scrutinize them for their intended implications rather than what they superficially show, to look behind and around the image instead of simply according it its face value. Beyond this, I have attempted to show that photographic meaning is contextually, indexically and iconically conveyed, that rhetorical devices within images signpost the points at which a photograph is invaded by ideology, and reveal that image's cultural and historical specificity. The evidence photographs contain bears only tangential relation to the content of the image itself; rather the historian must look to the way the image communicates, the means by which it seeks to convey its message, the devices it employs, the appeals it makes, the conventions it

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[41] In her article: "The History that Photographs Mislaid" (in Dennett, Terry and Jo Spence (eds): Photography/Politics: One, p58), Judith Williamson argues that photography's naturalising proficiency enables it to give a "priority of innocence" to almost "any configuration of people and commodities," the element of chance photographs always suggest about their own existence giving credibility to their denial of class, for example, or the relations of production. For Alan Trachtenberg ("Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs," Representations 9, Winter 1985, pp12), the tendency of photographs to pass themselves off as transparent records of truth is "precisely the message of an ideology." Such a reading pretends that the photographic image is "a pure capture of nature by a marriage of science and art," disavowing both the highly structured nature of the photograph itself and the meaning it acquires from its context.

[42] Tagg, John: "The Currency of the Photograph," in The Burden of Representation, p160. Tagg (p165) perceives photography's naturalising tendency as a means of preserving the internal stability of society by denying the historical specificity of its beliefs and practices. Edward Steichen's 1955 exhibition The Family of Man demonstrated this on a tremendous scale. The exhibition effectively dissolved difference, collapsed class, and telescoped time - in short, it naturalised the irreconcilable. (See Barthes, Roland: "The Great Family of Man," Mythologies, pp107-110).

[43] Williamson, Judith: Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising, Marion Boyars, London, 1978, p178.

reinforces or transgresses. The evidence of greatest historical interest lies less in what the photograph literally depicts than in the way it relates to and makes visible the culture of which it is a part.

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Both the psychoanalytical approach to photography - the work of Laura Mulvey,[44] Griselda Pollock,[45] Christian Metz[46] and Victor Burgin,[47] for example - as well as the sociological - in particular the studies of Martha Rosler,[48] Allan Sekula,[49] John Tagg,[50] and Maren Stange[51] - have benefitted from the conceptualisation of the image as a sign masking the operation of often quite insidious processes of manipulation and control. While a full history of these theoretical paradigms is beyond the scope of this chapter, a brief examination of the possibilities such analyses can open up for the historian will contribute to an understanding of the nature of photographic evidence, indicating how a photograph's meaning is generated simultaneously within and outside the image.

The psychoanalytical approach to the understanding of photographs as explored in the work of Mulvey and Burgin is significant for the connections it discerns between

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[44] Mulvey, Laura: "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," Screen, Autumn 1975, Vol 16, no3, pp6-18.

[45] Pollock, Griselda: "What's Wrong With Images of Women?" Screen Education 24, Autumn 1977, pp25-33; and "Missing Women: Rethinking Early Thoughts on Images of Women," in Squiers, Carol (ed): The Critical Image: Essays on Contemporary Photography, Bay Press, Seattle, 1990, pp202-219.

[46] Metz, Christian: "Photography and Fetish" in The Critical Image, pp155-164.

[47] Burgin, Victor: "Photography, Phantasy, Function," in Thinking Photography, Macmillan, London, 1987, pp177-216.

[48] Rosler, Martha: "in, around and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)" in 3 Works, Press of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, 1981, pp59-81.

[49] Sekula, Allan: "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation)" in Dennett, Terry and Jo Spence (eds): Photography/Politics: One, Photography Workshop, London, 1979, pp171-185.

[50] Tagg, John: "The Currency of the Photograph: New Deal Reformism and Documentary Rhetoric" in The Burden of Representation, pp153-183.

[51] Stange, Maren: Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary in America 1890-1950.

psychology and perspective. Recent contestations of the camera's alleged neutrality have focused on the unique and deliberate point of view which the camera implies no matter what its subject. "It is this position" writes Burgin, "occupied in fact by the camera, which the photograph bestows on the individual looking at the photograph. The perspectival system of representation represents, before all else, a *look*."[52] Burgin traces Freud's first identification of "scocophilia", a psychological investment in looking, through his 1905 Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality where Freud observes that the "libido for looking", exhibitionism and voyeurism, is found in equal measure among children of both sexes. By adulthood, however, Freud recognizes a "division of labour" in which the determinant look becomes the province of the male, while it is women who are primarily looked at. Lacan further distinguishes a "double inscription of psychic life in the look," the first of which is auto-erotic and narcissistic in essence, while the second is "a component of the eternally directed sexual drive to objectify the *other*." Such observations lead Burgin to conclude that:

> ...looking is not indifferent. There can never be any question of "just looking": vision is structured in such a way that the look always-already includes a history of the subject.[53]

The implications of such observations are of primary importance to the practice and analysis of photography, as feminist criticism of the representation of women for example in advertising[54] and in narrative film[55] has demonstrated. Critisism too of "concerned photography" and the documentary genre in general, such as Martha Rosler's analysis of photographs of New York's "Bowery" district ("an archetypal skid row... so magnetic to documentarists"), turns precisely on this recognition that the gaze implies a constructed relationship between victims and the "socially powerful," a gaze which also implicates the

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[52] Burgin, Victor: "Photography, Phantasy, Function," p187.

[53] ibid, p188.

[54] See for example: Pollock, Griselda: "What's Wrong with Images of Women?" and "Missing Women: Rethinking Early Thoughts on Images of Women."

[55] See especially: Mulvey, Laura: "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema."

viewer.[56] For Burgin, this "general social effect of photographs" is a major part of photography's political import, which he sees as constantly reinforcing heirachical social relations on behalf of the dominant social order.[57] No photograph is free from these implied subject positionings, and the power-relations they inscribe into an image can reveal much to the historian concerning the social relations and sexual politics of the society which produced it.

Burgin's conception of the photographic point of view, however, is more complex than the identification of the relationship between photographer and subject would allow. Embracing Umberto Eco's notion of a plurality of codes which "pre-exist" the photograph and which interact with the viewer's preconceptions in the act of perception itself,[58] Burgin argues that positions such as racism or sexism are not inherently "in" the photograph, but are found rather "within a complex of texts, rhetorics, codes, woven into the fabric of the popular pre-conscious."[59] It is this, he maintains, which determines the photographer's "intuitive" response to the world around him or her, producing within the photographer the recognition that something is worth photographing. He continues:

> It is neither theoretically necessary nor desirable to make psychologistic assumptions concerning the intentions of the photographer, it is the pre-constituted field of discourse which is the substantial "author" here, photograph and photographer alike are its products; and, in the act of seeing, so is the viewer.[60]

Thus simply by looking, the viewer is implicated in a highly structured pattern of vision and representation. Meaning inheres not in the photograph itself, but in the relationship between the photograph and the matrix of culturally-specific beliefs and assumptions to

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[56] See Rosler, Martha: "in, around and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)."

[57] In "Photography, Phantasy, Function," (p205) Burgin writes: "A major part of the political import of photographic signification is its constant confirmation and reduplication of subject-positions for the dominant social order through its imbrication with such dominant discursive formations as, for example, those which concern family life, erotic encounters, competitiveness and so on. The role of such scenarios in advertising will be readily conceded..."

[58] Eco, Umberto: "Critique of the Image" in Burgin, Victor: Thinking Photography, pp32-38.

[59] Burgin, Victor: "Photography, Phantasy, Function," p206.

[60] ibid, p207.

which it refers. The photograph is the site at which these "invisible" beliefs are made manifest, the gaze of the photographer directing the gaze of the viewer, and it is in this constant dialogue between image and society that lies the photograph's greatest interest for the historian.

A second important contribution of psychoanalysis to the study of photographs concerns the notion of fetish. In Freud's analysis, the fetish "serves in place of the penis with which the shocked male infant would "complete" the woman";[61] the role of the fetish is thus to disavow the very perception it acknowledges. With regard to photographs, the "effect" of the fetish is felt more in connection with usage than decoding, in the way that photographs of absent persons for example are kept to preserve their memory.[62] Roland Barthes' poignant search throughout Camera Lucida for a single, telling photograph of his mother is a case in point. It is only when desire begins to displace reality, when the fetish is taken for the real and reality disavowed, that photography's potential as fetish assumes a more insidious role. As Victor Burgin recognises, "photographic representation accomplishes that separation of knowledge from belief which is characteristic of fetishism";[63] given photography's powerful ability to naturalise, to normalise the bizarre and to make the impossible "real", its ability not just to separate but indeed replace knowledge with belief contains untold potential for manipulation and endless possibilities for propaganda. In reading photographs, the historian must recognise the possibility that these sources may bear relation less to any lived reality than to what their producers wished or wished others to believe.

The sociological approach to the analysis of photographs benefits from no clear theoretical tradition of its own. With its starting point located outside the image itself, it focuses on function rather than legibility and seeks an understanding of photography based primarily

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[61] ibid, p190.

[62] Christian Metz describes this use of images, "kept to perpetuate the memory of dead persons, or of dead moments in their lives" in his essay: "Photography and Fetish," in Squiers, Carol (ed): The Critical Image, p158.

[63] Burgin, Victor: "Photography, Phantasy, Function," p190.

on social practice.[64] Pierre Bourdieu's Un Art moyen[65] remains the seminal work in this area. In it, Bourdieu denies photography even the possibility of an aesthetic role, arguing that the experience of photography almost without exception by the poorer social classes is unerringly determined by the stereotypical. Photography, as a practice carried out by *l'homme moyen*, must be defined according to its social function which he maintains is connected exclusively to the family. Deployed overwhelmingly within the rituals of family life, both as proof of family unity and as the instrument by which that unity is achieved, the photographic operation for Bourdieu is intrinsically tautological. Its primary use as he perceives it is to confirm that which a society wishes to believe of itself, a notion making nonsense of any photographic pretentions to objectivity. He observes:

> ...en conférent à la photographie un brevet de réalisme, la société ne fait rien d'autre que se confirmer elle-même dans la certitude tautologique qu'une image du réel conforme à sa représentation de l'objectivité est vraiment objective.[66]

Art historians like Rosalind Krauss have objected to Bourdieu's assertions that photography is based on stereotype and can have no discourse proper to itself.[67] Yet despite such reservations, and despite the limitations of a critical approach to photography which discounts the notion of the photograph as sign with its own highly complex methods of signifying, still Bourdieu's observation carries a powerful resonance. Its implications, as John Tagg has demonstrated in his critique of slum clearance photographs taken in Leeds at the turn of the century, can be far-reaching when such images are

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[64] The anthropologist Clifford Geertz considers sociological analysis of ideology - and by implication, of ideological media like photography - to be severely flawed by its theoretical limitations. "The resistance of ideology to sociological analysis is so great because such analyses are fundamentally inadequate, the theoretical framework they employ conspicuously incomplete," he writes in: "Ideology as a Cultural System," in Apter, David: Ideology and Discontent, the Free Press, London, 1964, p49.

[65] Bourdieu, Pierre: Un Art moyen: Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie, Éditions du Minuit, Paris, 1965.

[66] Bourdieu, Pierre: Un Art moyen, p113.

[67] In "A Note on Photography and the Simulacral," (in Squiers, Carol (ed): The Critical Image, p24), Krauss maintains against Bourdieu that photography's power to throw into question such notions as originality, uniqueness, self-expression and oeuvre has indeed earned it its own discourse. She writes: "...there *is* a discourse proper to photography, only...it is not an aesthetic discourse. It is a project of deconstruction..."

deployed by powerful interests determined to utilise their foregone conclusions to justify social or political action.[68] In this regard Bourdieu's thesis reinforces Burgin's concept of the fetish-effect when applied to the photographic image. Where knowledge is separated from belief, and belief - or a particular stereotype - represented as objective fact, the historian once again has a signpost to the power interests at work in that society and the ideology they are seeking to impose.

Thus the findings of psychoanalytical and sociological analyses of photographic records highlight the susceptiblity of photographs to ideological manipulation. In recent years anthropologists too have begun to scrutinize the unwritten agendas which underlie the ethnographic-photographic enterprise. Frequently implicated in the colonization process, anthropological analyses (like those cited by Talal Asad concerning the representation of African and Islamic political systems by European ethnologists[69]) as much as photographic records have been determined at least in part by:

> the global-political experience of the past five hundred years in the expansion of nation states and their economic interests over the rest of the earth. Not surprisingly, anthropology as an approach to understanding humanity has been deeply influenced by these political circumstances...[70]

Anthropologists Melissa Banta and Curtis Hinsley acknowledge that the "objectivity" ethnologists claim to reproduce in their photographs of other cultures has all too frequently been simply the reflection of the photographer's own interests, and that "always the image has as much to say about its maker as its subject."[71] In the face of recent developments in photographic analysis advanced across diverse fields, anthropological enquiry has acquired a new awareness of the essentially constructed nature of the

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[68] In "God's Sanitary Law: Slum Clearance Photography in Late Nineteenth-Century Leeds" (The Burden of Representation, pp117-152), Tagg demonstrates how photographs of the Leeds slum districts were framed and then used in accordance with stereotypical and socially constructed notions of poverty and sanitation.

[69] Asad, Talal: "Two Images of Non-European Rule" in Asad, Talal (ed): Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter, Ithaca Press, London, 1973, pp103-118.

[70] Banta, Melissa and Curtis M. Hinsley: From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery, Peabody Museum Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1986, p20.

[71] ibid, p11.

photographic image,[72] and a recognition of the role played by ideology in the production of photographic meaning.

Indeed the one thread linking the work of the majority of theorists discussed in these pages is the recognition, albeit to varying degrees, of the extent to which ideology pervades the photographic image. From the works of Roland Barthes, who first perceived that "the connotative field of reference was, par excellence, the domain through which ideology invaded the language system";[73] through the work of Eco, who suggested that meaning is generated through interaction with the viewer's ideological and cultural "patrimony of knowledge"; through Durand, for whom the transgressions of rhetoric indicated the presence of cultural and ideological assumptions; through Burgin and Mulvey, who recognised that the photographic point of view was ideologically constructed and that the use of photograph as fetish opens a gap through which ideology can invade the image; through Bourdieu, who considered the stereotypes of class to be the ultimate determinant of photographic significance; through Banta and Hinsley, for whom photographic anthropology operated in the service of global imperialism; and finally, most rigorously of all, John Tagg, who sees photographic meaning as determined overwhelmingly by the ideological cast of an image's context, by the circumstances of its production and use: through all these writings ideology has surfaced like the repressed knowledge of the fetish to inform the most penetrating studies of the photograph, and indeed of the empire of signs.

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Without underestimating the power and importance of these analyses, which have so effectively unmasked the operation of photographs as screens behind and through which unfurls the sophisticated powerplay of vested interests, I would like to advance an

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[72] See for example Collier, John: Visual Anthropology.

[73] Hall, Stuart: "The Rediscovery of "Ideology": Return of the Repressed in Media Studies" in Gurevitch, Michael, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (eds): Culture, Society and the Media, p79. In "Myth Today" (p144), Barthes argues that "language offers to myth [or ideology] an open-work meaning. Myth can easily insinuate itself into it, and swell there: it is a robbery by colonization..."

alternative and not unrelated concept of photographic signification. In an attempt to escape the reductionism of analyses which restrict every image to an expression of the dominant ideology, I would like to suggest that in all images the possibilities for signification available to the determining ideology are necessarily circumscribed by the collective imagination, by common knowledge, by the popular unconscious - in short, by the dominant *mentalité*. This is perhaps most clearly seen in photographs devised by the advertising industry and the press - "images most laden with ideological intent and implication,"[74] specifically designed to persuade. In her rigorous dissection of advertising photographs, Judith Williamson describes the message such images convey as secondary to and predicated upon these collective beliefs:

> ...the subject drawn into the work of advertising is *one who knows*...Advertisements clearly produce knowledge...but this knowledge is always produced from something already known, that acts as a guarantee, in its anteriority, for the *truth* of the ad itself. This has already been shown to be a central part of ideology: the constant re-production of ideas which are denied a historical beginning or end, which are used or referred to "because" they "already" exist in society...[75]

Victor Burgin also recognizes the subordination of ideology to the dominant *mentalité* when he describes the impact of Diane Arbus's photographs of ordinary Americans as depending on "common knowledge of the typical representation of prevailing social facts and values."[76] But Burgin overlooks the study of these "social facts and values" in preference to evolving an "ideology of the subject" in which every material object is ascribed a use-value and is therefore already semantically and ideologically loaded in any representation.[77] In doing so Burgin discounts what seems to me to be the singlemost rewarding aspect of the photographic enterprise for the historian - the relationship a photograph bears to the culture which gives it meaning. Above all what the image takes

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[74] Trachtenberg, Alan: "Camera Work," p845.

[75] Williamson, Judith: Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising, Marion Boyars, London, 1978, p99. In "Man and Woman in Socialist Iconography," Eric Hobsbawm similarly observes: "...in images designed to be seen and have an impact on a wide public, for example the workers, the public's experience of reality sets limits to the degree to which they may diverge from that experience." (History Workshop, issue 6, Autumn 1978, p122.)

[76] Burgin, Victor: "Photographic Practice and Art Theory" in Thinking Photography, p41.

[77] ibid, p47.

for granted, the myths it inflects, the attitudes it affirms or subverts, the taboos, anxieties, and fascinations it reveals of the society in which it has currency - all this amounts to a vision of what the French historian of *mentalités* Michel Vovelle has termed "l'inconscient ou l'imaginaire collectif,"[78] made visible by the photograph. In privileging visual material in its quest for access to the past, this thesis proposes in the recovery of a collective *mentalité* the same methodology proposed for the discovery of ideology, and borrows freely from semiotics and rhetoric, and from certain insights acquired from psychoanalysis, sociology and anthropology, in order to work back through the image to the cultural values which underlie it and enable it to mean.

While acknowledging the importance of the ideological in the determination of photographic meaning, the decision of this thesis nevertheless to prefer to it the concept of *mentalité* was based upon its richness and breadth, upon its ability to find value in elements invisible or insignificant to the ideological eye. As Vovelle writes:

> Le concept de mentalité s'inscrit déjà...comme plus large que celui de l'idéologie: il intègre ce qui n'est pas formulé, ce qui reste apparemment "insignifiant".[79]

It seeks significance in the relationship between representation and culture at large, between how life is experienced and how it is told. For Vovelle:

> ...histoire des mentalités: étude des médiations et du rapport dialectique entre les conditions objectives de la vie des hommes et la façon dont ils se la racontent, et même dont ils la vivent.[80]

In the following chapters then I wish to explore through photographs the relationship between ideology and *mentalité*. Focusing on the Spanish Civil War, arguably the most ideologically-riven war this century has experienced both in its internal vicissitudes and its external ramifications and representations, I wish to trace the notions of myth and the bases of propaganda, concepts of femininity and attitudes to war; to identify received

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[78] Vovelle, Michel: Idéologies et mentalités, p14.

[79] Ibid, p13.

[80] Ibid, p17.

ideals of urban existence and expectations of social life; to expose taboos and highlight grounds for collective fears and fascinations in images of war's victims - its casualties and refugees. At all times this thesis seeks both similarity and difference, disparities in representation signalling particularities in *mentalité*, working its way towards an understanding of certain aspects of the French and British psyche during the lost decades between the wars. The stress imposed upon the collective consciousness of each nation by the civil war in Spain sharpened definitions and hardened attitudes pre-existing the conflict; it is the traces of these attitudes, etched by light onto paper like stencils, like footprints, like rings of water, that this thesis wishes to record.

CHAPTER 2: PROPAGANDA AND MYTH - THE COMBATTANTS

> The photographs of groups of defenders (of the Alcazar) bring home one of the most pathetic aspects of the civil war. They are so like groups of Republican militiamen that if they were changed round no one would know the difference.
>
> George Orwell, reviewing Red Spanish Notebook by Mary Low and Juan Brea, and Heroes of the Alcazar, by R. Timmermans.[1]

"Propaganda," Estelle Jussim writes in her essay on photography and persuasion, "plays on the already present assumptions and unconscious motivations of individuals and groups, relying on the universal mythologies of specific societies"[2] as the basis upon which it acts to convince and convert. Functioning as transmitters of cultural values,[3] these "universal mythologies" exude an aura of timelessness and assert eternal truths which are automatically conferred upon the ideologies which deploy them. Used as agents of persuasion, press photographs largely conform to this pattern. Referring deliberately to those myths most prevalent in the society they intend to persuade, photographs profit from the status of pre-given truth myths claim for themselves, and derive legitimacy from them. Able seamlessly to render the ideological natural, photography and myth share a common principle and seek an identical goal - "the transformation of history into nature."[4]

In their representation of the combattants in the Spanish Civil War, the French and British press cast the fighting men and women of either side as vital protagonists in the myths

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[1] Orwell, Sonia and Ian Angus (eds): The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, Vol 1, Secker and Warburg, London, 1968, p288.

[2] Jussim, Estelle: "Propaganda and Persuasion," in The Eternal Moment: Essays on the Photographic Image, Aperture Foundation, New York, 1989, p158.

[3] See Douglas, Mary: "The Meaning of Myth," in Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1975, p169.

[4] Barthes, Roland: "Myth Today," p140. Barthes identifies this principle as a defining characteristic of myth; it seems equally applicable to photographs given their propensity to naturalise.

they revived and deployed for propagandist ends. Individual participants became the metonymic representatives of their movement, the qualities they demonstrated applying equally to the cause for which they fought. The myths they enacted inevitably simplified complex issues, eliminating from the pages of the press any inkling for example of the byzantine power struggles which distinguished each camp. Other qualities the combattants displayed expressed the preoccupations of their culture, and can themselves be seen as contributing to the formation of newer myths. No other category of photographs, however, was made to embody so directly or so extensively the avowed political creed of the cause for which they were mobilised than did these images of combattants at war.

The first part of this section, then, will consider the ways in which the pro-Republican[5] press in Britain and France portrayed the soldiers it supported, seeking areas of common ground and instances of difference in the myths photographically deployed in each nation. A brief comparison of the Republican self-image with the Insurgent view suggests that common cultural assumptions informed the propaganda campaigns of the two opposing camps in each nation. The second part will attempt a similar task for the Nationalist troops, examining myths of soldiery and war on the Insurgent side, but additionally considering attitudes to race as raised by the involvement of the Moors. The third part will explore French and British concepts of gender role through the more controversial issue of the women who took up arms.

How then did the French and British press choose to represent the Republican soldiers at war? What was the nature of the assumptions they inflected and myths they employed as carrying greatest persuasive resonance in each society? Above all, what do they tell the historian about the mentality of the societies which produced, chose and inflected these images? Such questions are investigated in the British pro-Republican press chiefly through the Daily Herald and the Daily Worker, while in France the weekly illustrated

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[5] Following the observations of ^ concerning the nomeclature used in discussions of the Spanish Civil War, I have adopted as a general rule the more neutral term "Republicans" to refer to the government side (in preference to "Loyalists" or "Reds") and "Insurgents" (rather than "Rebels", "Nationalists" or "Fascists") for the forces of General Franco. The publications favourable to a particular side have also been differentiated accordingly. Cf Muggeridge, Malcolm: The Thirties. 1930-1940 in Great Britain, p268n.

magazines Regards and Vu took up the Republican banner most fervently. Pro-Insurgent counter-propaganda is examined through the Daily Mail and the Illustrated London News in Britain, and Paris-Soir, Le Matin and L'Illustration in France.

PART A: THE REPUBLICAN MILITIAMEN

Amongst the earliest, most dramatic and above all photogenic developments to follow the generals' uprising on 18 July 1936 was the formation of street barricades in the major cities of Spain as government loyalists sought to defend their locality against Insurgent attack - in the tradition of nineteenth-century European revolutions. The illustrated press in Britain and France was quick to exploit the sensational and ideological potential of this spontaneous popular reaction with photographs published within the first few days of the outbreak of hostilities.[6] Images recording the sudden appearance of barricades in the narrow streets of Spain's provincial capitals must have evoked powerful associations in the French national psyche in particular, the barricade symbolically and historically loaded with allusions to violence and revolution. For the pro-Republican press in Britain and France these images celebrated the tremendous upsurge in popular feeling in Spain in support of the beleaguered Popular Front government and, theoretically at least, for the principles of democracy. Two images, one each from Britain's Daily Herald and the French weekly magazine Vu, stand as powerful and preeminent examples of the way in which such events were used in the promotion of the broader ideology.

The Daily Herald's image[7] of 29 July is a fine example of political photography, its expressive power unmatched in the British press. (Fig.2). Enlarged to fill half the broadsheet page, it is crammed with faces and figures locked in tension with the image's constricting frame. Four men - two workers, a soldier and a middle-class professional - are central to the image, positioned in a broad, diagonal plane across its foreground.

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[6] In Britain, the Daily Herald and the Daily Mail's first barricade photographs appeared on 23 July, the Daily Worker's followed on the 25th, and Reynolds' News' on the 26th. The Illustrated London News' first image did not appear until 1 August. In France, Paris-Soir and Le Matin printed their first barricade photographs on July 24 and 25 respectively; Vu was next on the 29th, and Regards followed on 30 July. L'Illustration did not follow suit until 8 August.

[7] Daily Herald, 29 July 1936, p16.

Barely twenty, one of the workers angles his rifle over a roughly-hewn beam - the barricade is suggested metonymically. He wears his shirtsleeves rolled above his elbows while the white scarf around his temples suggests a bandaged wound. Photographed in profile, his eyes hidden in shadow, the young man's furrowed forehead betrays anxiety, his vulnerability adding a human dimension to the image. At the centre of the photograph another young worker raises his hand in the clench-fisted Republican salute, his gesture and his expression imparting a sense of defiance heightened by the nonchalant cigarette between his lips. On the right-hand edge of the photograph another young man wearing a peaked military cap stares directly at the camera, anxiety in his eyes as well. It is not clear whether his uniform affiliates him to a police, civil guard or military corps remaining loyal to the government; if he carries a weapon at all it is well obscured. Finally, on the far left side of the image, his face partially cropped out of frame, another man joins the fray, his suit and tie introducing an unexpected element of respectability to the scene.

Behind the four main figures in the photograph neighbours crane out of first-floor windows, and other faces jostle towards the camera implying a depth of solidarity among the people. Jarring with the photograph's realism, however, a disturbingly sinister element enters the frame. A tiny, angular, androginous face half-hidden by the beam peers up sideways at the waiting men, its sharp teeth, narrow eyes and pointed ears lacing the image with an undercurrent of menace, the metaphorical expression perhaps of unarticulated British fears of insurrection. As a whole the configuration argues a breadth of popular support enjoyed by this avowedly democratic movement, with workers, a soldier, and a member of the middle-class linked in solidarity behind the barricade. Their alliance recalls that of the artisans, students, workers, and members of the bourgeoisie, joined in the cause of liberty in that most enduring of revolutionary icons, Delacroix' Liberty Leading the People.[8] (Fig.3).

[8] For a discussion of the class - and individual - identities of the figures depicted in Delacroix' Liberty Leading the People (1830), see Johnson, Lee: The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue, 1816-1831, Oxford University Press, London, 1981, p143ff.

The page's title: "SPAIN'S FIGHT FOR LIFE" bestows an intensity of emotion on the image's intensity of action, investing the photograph with the fervour of a broad-based democratic movement battling for its survival. But the body of the caption asserts the seriousness of the conflict: "Grim and determined, volunteers and loyal government troops man the barricades on the road leading to Madrid ready to carry out the order [sic] that the battle may be to the death..." Unlike the French press, which celebrated the spontaneous enthusiasm of the popular uprising in images *and* captions, the British caption-writers downplayed the movement's popular *élan*, implying organisation and containment in descriptions of "volunteers and loyal government troops" "manning" barricades and diligently following "orders." Concern about the authenticity of the photograph, expressed in the caption's assurance it had arrived "in London last night by air," further contributes to the sobriety with which the paper treated the spectacle of insurrection in Spain.

This picture bore a certain similarity to a photograph reproduced in the French magazine Vu the same day. Vu's image,[9] (Fig.4) credited to its staff photographer Georg Reisner, was titled "UN PEUPLE EN ARMES..." and captioned: "L'APPEL AUX ARMES. Un jeune ouvrier enthousiaste exhorte ses camarades," leaving no doubt that the people, among them ordinary workers, had taken matters into their own hands. The image depicted solidarity between soldiers and workers and suggested the participation of other classes through the presence of one man - perhaps an artisan or tradesman - more formally dressed than the others in a shirt and zippered jacket. But the page is dominated by another figure - a youth bare-chested and loose-trousered, his arms above his head, brandishing his shirt in one hand and a flag in the other. Jubilant, his symbolic gestures seem to embody the collective passions of the democratic cause, while his bare torso and crucifix-spread arms suggest simultaneously the vulnerability of the popular movement.[10]

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[9] Vu, 29 July 1936, p880.

[10] Eric Hobsbawm, in his consideration of "Men and Women in Socialist Iconography," (History Workshop, issue 6, Autumn 1978, pp129-30), conjectures that the "bare-torsoed image" in socialist sculpture and painting "expressed a compromise between symbolism and realism [for a movement] attached in principle to realism in art [but which] required a language of symbolic statement in which to state its ideals."

The structure of the photograph itself extends the impression of popular enthusiasm beyond the image and projects it into the wider context of civil war. The half-naked youth stands slightly left of the image's centre while a crowd of young men on the barricade in rolled-up sleeves and raffish head-scarves form a pyramid rising to the upper right-hand corner of the picture, their raised fists and clambering bodies directed towards protagonists off-frame. None appear to be armed. The impression of action taking place beyond the image is also suggested by the stance of the jacketed artisan. His shoulders stooped with exhaustion, his attention is also directed off-frame despite his position in the midst of the action between the orator and the impassioned civilians. A uniformed soldier, also apparently weaponless, stands in their midst and joins their struggle; the rifle barrels and helmets of two more soldiers in the foreground, however, introduce a more serious undertone. The striped mattresses at the pyramid's base would become a motif in photographs of war-torn Spain, their flimsy protection bullet-riddled in countless village squares. More exhuberent than the Daily Herald's photograph, this image also celebrates the people's enthusiasm for the cause, asserting the democratic legitimacy of a movement supported across the boundaries of class by workers, tradesmen and soldiers.

The ideological power lying latent in such photographs is nowhere so well brought out as in an image printed in Regards[11] the following September. The distinguished German master of photomontage, John Heartfield, used Vu's image: "L'Appel aux Armes" as the basis for a new political image, superimposing the allegorical figure of Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People" onto the background of the Reisner photograph. Heartfield's montage brought out the correspondences between photograph and painting, breadth of social class for example a feature common to both, while the naked torso of the young man echoed that of Liberty herself. Indeed the similarity renders the young man pivotal in the interplay between background and foreground, history and contemporaneity, art and photography. The numbers on the barricade in the Reisner image are swollen by the armed civilians who accompanied Liberty's soldiers, merging to form a popular army legitimized by historical precedent and representing, in Eric Hobsbawm's words, "the

[11] Regards, 24 September 1936, p11.

concentrated force of the invincible people."[12] Heartfield's montage sharpened the political edges of the original photograph, highlighting its revolutionary implications and forcing the transformation of a spontaneous uprising into the mould of a revolutionary movement with clear historical antecedents. As an instrument of propaganda this photomontage is extremely effective, mobilising potent, deep-seated and widely-shared iconographical symbolism in exhorting its public to action. Reiterating the cause's democratic credentials, it linked contemporary events in Spain to the French revolutionary past through the French art-historical tradition. This connection is repeated in the montage's title: "La Liberté Conduit le Peuple d'Espagne." The image embodied representational possibilities not available, at least on the same terms, to Vu's counterparts in Britain.

Differences in the way the French and British press chose to represent the barricade point to important cultural differences between the two nations. The British press for example was on the whole reluctant to acknowledge the fact that the people of Spain were taking up arms in the Republic's defence. It preferred to describe the Republic's defenders as a separate group - "volunteers and loyal government troops" - whose actions were authorised by the government and were therefore legitimate. They were not to be confused with ordinary civilians: the distinction was subtle but important. While the interests of these two groups might coincide, the pro-Republican press in Britain tried to keep the groups separate in the minds of its readers, perhaps to forestall the spread to its shores of what looked like examples of anarchy. Attempts to limit the implications of what was happening in Spain were carried out even in the face of images which suggested the opposite - that the defence of the Republic was largely the expression of the spontaneous, popular will. This seems to go at least some way towards explaining for example the tone of the caption which dampened the excitement of the Daily Herald's barricade photograph.

The French pro-Republican press, in contrast, entertained no such scruples. Numerous photographs were reproduced in its pages illustrating the interchangeability of "soldiers" and civilians, the French much readier to accept the notion of civilians taking up arms.

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[12] Hobsbawm, Eric: "Man and Woman in Socialist Iconography," p124. Hobsbawm describes Liberty as a general symbol of this force, not closely identified with any one of the classes and occupations depicted.

One of the most striking such images appeared in Regards[13] on 9 September. (Fig.5). Printed diagonally and covering half the page, this photograph depicted seven civilian-dressed peasants riding on donkey-back towards the camera along a country road, the leader waving his pistol high above his head as if in victory, his six companions duly following suit. Although the two men astride a single animal, and the bundles of straw and blankets burdening the other donkeys, are reminiscent more of a day at the market than at battle, the caption insists that these men were: "Les paysans de Saint-Petro [qui] retournent aux champs après avoir chassé de leur village les rebelles fascistes." Since the inhabitants of the village were also its defenders, Regards was able to assert that the Republican forces and the peasant population were in fact one and the same.

For the most part the British press contented itself with images like those which appeared in the Daily Worker on 16 October, stressing the shared interests between militiamen and civilians. The first of these[14] (Fig.6) recalled the conventions of genre-painting in its depiction of two women and a little girl kneeling beside their washing baskets at the edge of a stream while a militiaman stood watch nearby, his rifle at the ready. The caption, exploiting the immediacy of the present tense, described how "Spanish Peasant Women do their weekly wash while a Government soldier keeps guard." While its concept of women's role in the new society could hardly be considered revolutionary, the caption nevertheless communicated a sense of Republican benevolence and cooperation in the interests of the Spanish people.

A pair of photographs reproduced in the same issue of the Daily Worker[15] hardened the notion of civilian-militia cooperation into an alliance of interests, although the two groups were still treated as distinct entities. The first image depicted a peasant farmer standing in his fields in a short-sleeved shirt and picturesque straw hat, a newspaper open in his hands (despite the widespread illiteracy which made the poster so important a form of

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[13] Regards, 9 September 1936, p5. The only example I have found in the publications examined for Britain appeared in the Daily Worker on 5 December 1936 (supplement piii) depicting a "peasant militiaman helping with the farmwork."

[14] Daily Worker, 16 October 1936, p3.

[15] Ibid, p7.

political communication in wartime Spain). Below this picture was printed another showing three Republican soldiers pouring over *their* copies of the newspaper, a single caption linking both pictures and insisting simultaneously that the wishes of both parties were identical. "What news for them? When will this Andalusian peasant...and these Madrid militiamen read that we have done our part in ending the embargo that crushes them?" Campaigning as ever against non-intervention, the Daily Worker was at the same time promoting the Republican cause as truly democratic by asserting the convergence of interests between peasants and the militias.

Where the pro-Republican press in Britain largely restricted itself to such comparatively static imagery, their French counterparts displayed a persistent fascination with the process of transition from civilian to soldier. Through repeated representation they argued the democratic credentials of the popular army, an on-going propagandist concern during the early months of the civil war. A photograph in Vu,[16] appearing soon after the outbreak of hostilities, illustrates this process clearly. Printed under the heading "Quand les Villes Deviennent Champs de Bataille: l'arrière," (opposing it to "les premières lignes" illustrated on the facing page), it depicted ten civilians standing around a great mound of rifles and ammunition partly covered by a tarpaulin, about to be armed for battle. Most of the men were dressed in the shabby, tieless suits of workers, one man still wearing an apron as if he'd just emerged from kitchen or forge. Only one wore a hat, and only one had received a rifle. Caught by the camera's recording gaze, most of the men looked abashed, as if at surprised at some dubious activity. The image is of special interest for this reason: in representing the point of transition from civilian to militiaman it also captures the vulnerability of the men's ill-defined status and the unease of their momentary suspension between two roles. Yet the fact that ordinary workers were taking up arms carried a strong persuasive charge in the pages of Vu, the image "proving" that the militias were composed of civilians rising up in the Republic's defence.[17]

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[16] Vu, 29 July 1936, p883.

[17] An image showing the transition from *peasant* to militiaman appeared in Regards on 5 November 1936 (p3). In it a farmer, wearing a collarless shirt and wide-brimmed hat, set off to join the militia, ready to swap his pick for a rifle. His portrait is a metonym for a peasant army on the move all over Repulican Spain. That such photographs were a standard propagandist device was not lost on one contemporary, Anthony Powell, who bemoaned the frequent cut-backs to "those impassive peasant faces, the back-bone

While the pro-Republican press in France emphasized the militias' popular composition, the British pro-Republican press published photographs of crowds manifesting their support for the Republican soldiers in order to demonstrate the truly democratic nature of the Reublican cause. Such images frequently took the form of departure scenes in which hundreds of civilians gathered to send off their troops to battle. One of the most impressive such images appeared in the Daily Herald[18] at the end of August. In a half-page photograph taken from high above, a massive crowd was shown raising their fists in loyalist victory salutes. The militiamen waved their rifles overhead in the general euphoria. Headed "Defending the Republic," the image's caption read: "...in Barcelona as 5,000 Government Militia prepared to leave for the Saragossa Front...", begging all questions of the movement's popularity and its legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

The emergence onto the historical stage of a mass society and mass movements within it necessitated a photographic form appropriate to this development; points of view were altered and camera angles adjusted to achieve maximum impact. Images like this were highly effective political instruments, manifestly suited to demonstrations of collective commitment and unity of purpose, of popular support and the ineluctable advance of mass political movements, as the newsreels of the Berlin Olympics for example amply testify. The photographers of the British pro-Republican press exhibited a particular fascination with this new phenomenon, repeatedly using it for partisan ends.

If the Republican cause were to have any chance of winning public opinion to its side and gaining the moral and military support of the democracies, it was vital that the communist elements in the Republican political formation be downplayed and the moderation of the cause firmly established. Differences in way the French and British press attempted to do this provide further indications of the two nations' differing mentalities, respectability for instance of vital importance to the British press, while a concern for culture was deemed

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of propaganda films the world over," in criticising Hemingway's The Spanish Earth in August 1937. See his "A Reporter in Los Angeles - Hemingway's Spanish Film," in Cunningham, V.(ed): Spanish Front: Writers on the Spanish Civil War, Oxford University Press, London, 1986, p210.

[18] Daily Herald, 28 August 1936, p16. An image similarly depicting the presence of massed civilian supporters used to legitimise the Republican cause appeared in the Daily Worker, 3 August 1836, p5.

crucial and persuasive by the French. Moreover, the logic of "communism in one country," and the policies of popular-frontism adopted by the Comintern in 1935, meant that the Soviet Union itself demanded that distinctively communist objectives be relinquished in order to build alliances with the democracies against Hitler.[19] For the Daily Worker, as the mouthpiece of the Communist Party in Great Britain, an emphasis on Republican moderation was thus of particular importance; the paper proved conscientious in executing its popular-frontist duties.

In Barcelona for the People's Olympiad when the generals staged their coup, a number of British athletes found themselves stranded in Catalonia; the ensuing photographs proved a bonus to the Republican propagandist machine. The Daily Worker was able to demonstrate its commitment to popular-frontism in a small image published on its front page as early as 30 July.[20] In it a group of sportsmen stood beside a truck draped with a "U.H.P." banner and manned by a number of Republican soldiers posing in the back with their rifles. Respectability radiates from the surrounding texts - from the heading: "Britons with Militia" drawing attention to the fraternization between Republican soldiers and British athletes; and from the caption: "A group of British sportsmen...photographed beside a lorry of the U.H.P. (Union of Proletarian Brothers) in Barcelona. On the lorry are police - marked with an X - co-operating with the workers' militia." From this friendly interaction between soldiers and athletes stemmed a perception of the Republican militia as reasonable, moderate, law-abiding and co-operative, the presence of the sportsmen conferring an unequivocal cachet of acceptability. Indeed the very form of the photograph, taken in the reassuring conventions of the holiday snap, normalises relations and neutralizes preconceptions of the rabid communist fanatics who supposedly peopled the ranks of the Republican militias.[21]

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[19] Tony Bennett discusses this development in relation to the press in his essay: "Media, Reality, Signification," in Gurevitch, Michael, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (eds): Culture, Society and the Media, p293.

[20] Daily Worker, 30 July 1936, p1.

[21] A similar process is at work in photographs like those published in the Daily Worker (27 August 1936, p1) and the Illustrated London News (1 August 1936, p182) in which militiamen were shown lined up in school-team-like ranks before various public buildings under their protection. Again the photographs' format played its part in the reassurance process, allaying middle-class fears of communist revolution and threats to public and private property.

A professed concern for public property was of some importance in establishing this respectability in Britain; an image to this effect appeared in the Illustrated London News[22] on August 15. In it, two rifle-carrying militiamen stood, overawed, in a room filled with suits of armour evoking Spain's conquistadore past, the men described as "Armed workers on guard over the artistic treasures of Madrid." The caption identifies this as "The Museum of the Mendenaceli Palace occupied by militia to protect the contents against looters;" the militiamen's concern for the museum's contents contributed another element to the matrix of reassurance. To the British, the preservation of property seemed to carry a certain persuasive power which guaranteed the effectiveness of the image as propaganda. Interestingly, this was the only picture printed in the British press under review to link the Republican cause explicitly with the preservation of cultural artefacts, and the only image to stand in dissent against the plethora of photographs decrying Republican church desecrations printed in the British press sympathetic to Franco.

The pro-Republican press in France, in contrast, made Republican cultural preoccupations one of the cornerstones in its defence of their cause. A concern for the preservation of culture was deemed laudable in itself and conveyed a positive impression of the Republican character to a public which already subscribed to such values. Images of this sort were employed quite combatively in the French pro-Republican press, used as a counterweight to photographs of the Republican assault on the church which so horrified Catholic France.

The effectiveness of such representations was demonstrated in the pages of Regards on 29 October.[23] The magazine published a series of photographs depicting young militiamen eagerly devouring erudite tomes while still on donkey-back, impatiently awaiting their sequels in the next instalment of literature delivered by the travelling "Cultura Popular" libraries,[24] or sitting ensconced with rivetting volumes in the salons

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[22] Illustrated London News, 15 August 1936, p278.

[23] Regards, 29 October 1936, p16.

[24] An astonishing 781 such transportable libraries had been set up by 1937 according to Christopher Cobb in: "Educational and Cultural Policy of the Popular Front Government in Spain 1936-9", in Alexander, Martin S. and Helen Graham (eds): The French and Spanish Popular Fronts: Comparative Perspectives, Cambridge University Press, London, 1989, p 248.

of requisitioned homes. The accompanying article asserts that this quest to bring enlightenment to the masses was not an accidental corollary of each Republican victory but a deliberate priority, the struggle made thereby synonymous with a battle for civilization itself:

> On ne voit nulle part aussi clairement qu'en Espagne que la lutte contre le fascisme est aussi une lutte pour la culture...aussitôt après l'organisation militaire et l'approvisionnement de l'armée et de la population, la première préoccupation est celle de la culture...Les combattants réclament des livres aussi fébrilement que des munitions...Tout l'organisation de l'instruction publique va s'orienter vers l'instruction des masses...Voilà donc l'une des choses pour lesquelles luttent en ce moment les héroïques miliciens antifascistes. Leur victoire sera bien celle de la civilisation...[25]

It was, however, in the issue of 26 November that Regards[26] put its most cogent photographic argument and made its clearest propagandist appeal to the cultural conscience of the French left. Four photographs (Fig.7) taken by Capa's colleague "Chim" (David Seymour) were reproduced under the elliptical, rhetorical heading: "Les barbares...Ceux qui anéantissent l'art national ou ceux qui le préservent avec amour?" The first photograph depicted eight militiamen and one militiawoman walking through the grounds of a grand, aristocratic mansion four stories high. This image set the scene for the three succeeding photographs, the caption establishing Republican deference for Spain's cultural heritage: "Un détachement des milices des Beaux-Arts - jeunes gens et jeunes filles du peuple - protège le palais du duc d'Albe, que les fascistes depuis ont bombardé." The caption's efforts to reverse preconceptions, insisting that it was the Insurgents who posed the real threat to Spanish culture, typified Regards' more vigorous response to the allegations of Republican iconoclasm rife within the pro-Insurgent press.

A tiny picture positioned in the corner diagonally opposite, showing a uniformed militiaman polishing the parquet floor of a grandly furnished room, reiterated the message of the first photograph; it was however the two central images which argued most clearly the extent of Republican cultural concerns. The larger of the two, most likely itself a

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[25] Regards, 29 October 1936, p16.

[26] Regards, 26 November 1936, p11.

posed portrait, showed two uniformed militiamen holding a painting of a modestly bedraped nude before a young woman in white seated before them, jotting down the canvas's particulars. There is a candour about the whole composition - in the demure pose of the femininely-dressed young woman as she averts her eyes to her notebook, and in the soft features of the two fresh-faced militiamen both little more than boys. Their reverent handling of the artworks, combined with their youthful innocence, sought to persuade the reader that the Republicans were genuine in their desire to preserve culture, while the caption identified the young woman with Republican civilizing zeal:

> Une jeune femme, membre de la Commission des Beaux-Arts, enregistre un tableau qui sera conservé dans les dépôts de la Commission. Chaque tableau est ainsi noté et classé; chaque bâtiment qui représente une valeur artistique ou historique est protégé.

The fourth picture is also the most clearly propagandist. The two militiamen depicted in the previous image were this time phototgraphed standing beside a waterless fountain in the sunshine, supporting a large crucifix between them. Following the press' saturation with photographs of desecrated churches and smashed figurines, this image, captioned "Deux jeunes miliciens transportent un Christ pour le mettre en sûreté," seems deliberately staged to deflate Insurgent self-mythologizing as religious crusaders, and to puncture Insurgent representations of Republican soldiers as the anti-Christ incarnate.

The article accompanying the images amplified the sentiments of the page's heading after crediting "notre ami Chim" for the photographs and explaining the formation of the "Commission de Conservation des Oeuvres d'Art" and the incongruously named "Milices des Beaux-Arts". It continues:

> ...Le peuple veille sur le patrimoine culture, en pleine guerre civile, parmi les bombardements. Or, on apprenait ces jours derniers que le palais du duc d'Albe, qui renfermait d'inestimables tapisseries, et des tableaux de Velasquez, de Goya, avait été détruit par les avions de Franco-Hitler. Les fascistes ne tuent pas seulement les femmes et les enfants. Ils détruisent l'art qui fait la gloire d'un pays et d'un peuple. Ils sont les nouveaux barbares.

By opposing the people's cultural will (as fulfilled according to Regards by the Milices des Beaux-Arts) to the destruction wrought by the "Franco-Hitler alliance," Regards

portrayed the Republican cause as popular, liberal and civilizing in a direct appeal to a perceived groundswell of belief among the French in the value of culture and the education of the masses. The pro-Republican British press in contrast sought other means to mobilise public opinion; the cultural component formed a negligible part of its campaign.

We have seen that the pro-Republican press in both Britain and France argued the cause's popular and therefore democratic credentials by emphasizing the close connections between the militias and the people of Spain. The French illustrated this in images showing the transition from civilian to soldier, the British, in photographs of crowds demonstrating their support for the militiamen and in images demonstrating their common interests. The moderation and civilized nature of the Republican troops was maintained in the French press in images showing their preoccupation with the preservation of culture, while the sympathetic British press asserted their respectability in photographs indicating their concern for property. But the pro-Republican press did not restrict itself to such images of public conduct in its representation of the militiamen. The fabric of the soldiers' daily lives also came under scrutiny, held up as exemplary by a press anxious to persuade its public of the benevolence of the Republican cause. While the French publications concentrated on the routine discipline of the Republican troops, the British pro-Republican press conveyed a personal dimension to the militiamen's lives through a number of domestic photographs which encouraged identification between the people of Britain and Spain.

An example of this appeared in the Daily Worker[27] towards the end of September and recorded a wedding conducted with ideologically appropriate sentiment. (Fig.8). With a ritual formality which seemed little inspired by proletarian tradition, the uniformed groom and his uniformed bride walked between two rows of militiamen whose rifles were raised in a ceremonial arch, her bouquet of flowers matched by his clenched Republican fist. Titled "War Wedding", the photograph and caption implied the necessity for self-sacrifice in personal matters in the overriding interest of a "just" war. Just as the civilian ceremony

[27] Daily Worker, 23 September 1936, p1.

was pervaded on an iconographical level by military allusion, so the caption expressed the invasion of military necessity into the private domain: "Loyal soldiers forming an archway with their rifles when this Spanish militiaman was married in Barcelona. After the wedding he returned to the warfront." Whether his bride accompanied him is not mentioned; the photograph nevertheless conveys the selflessness of the Republican fighters who gave the cause precedence over their private lives, and argues the cause's popular credentials as made evident by the people - ordinary, anonymous civilians - who fought for it.

The British press also published large numbers of seemingly trivial photographs depicting militiamen resting, loading lorries, camping, setting out for the front or cooking - minor, domestic shots taken behind the lines and which, although lacking the impact of some of the action photographs so effectively employed in the French publications, fulfilled nevertheless their own ideological function. A photograph published on August 20 in the Daily Worker[28] for example was colloquially titled: "Queue up for dinner," and depicted a militiaman attending to a number of cooking pots arranged before him on the ground. His comrades, in a mixed array of clothing, lined up behind him. While the image is neither stylistically unusual nor in any real sense revelatory, the illustration of the routine detail of the militiamen's lives nevertheless established common ground between observer and observed and opened a path for understanding between Britons and Republican soldiers in Spain. The rough comfort the soldiers' experience, furthermore, reiterated the ideological message of Republican selflessness for the greater good. Although during the month of December Regards published a series of photographs - of better quality - of militiamen engaged in similar domestic activities,[29] this did not underpin the entire French representation of the Republican militiamen in the same way that such images did in publications like the Daily Worker.

If the depiction of the personal details of the militiamen's lives became a propagandist device in the pages of the British press, the representation of Republican discipline was

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[28] Daily Worker, 20 August 1936, p5.

[29] See Regards, 24 December 1936, pp7-8; 31 December 1936, pp12-13.

used impress the French. Images in Vu, but more particularly in Regards, asserted the organized and orderly qualities of Republican troops in photographs of men drilling, training, marching and lining up for inspection before battle.[30] It was, however, in the issue of 19 November that Regards[31] proclaimed Republican discipline most effectively, in a series of six photographs published under the title: "On forme des chefs pour l'armée Républicaine."

Like Regards' photographs of the *Milices des Beaux-Arts* taken within the grounds of the Duc d'Albe's home, this sequence too began with a single image which set the scene - on this occasion the front entrance of a seminary transformed by the Republican command into a military academy. The stateliness of the architecture - the columns, arched gateway and clock tower - and the grounds with their formal terraces, palm trees and hedges, convey a sense of order imposed upon nature. The positioning of guards outside the gates marks the area off as a place of special purpose and importance, barred alike to civilians and the stray dogs depicted in the foreground. The following five images take the reader as a privileged observer inside the gates, and illustrate the assiduity with which the transformation of militiamen into officers was pursued.[32]

The first of these instruction photographs depicted an officer explaining the operation of an artillery piece to three uniformed men, while the second was a classroom scene in which at least sixteen militiamen stood grouped around an instructor holding a shell in his hands, two more explosives poised on the desk beside him. One of the militiamen was busy taking pencil notes; another watched the photographer while the rest absorbed the

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[30] See for example Vu, 12 August 1936, p935; Regards, 20 August 1936, p5; Regards, 17 September 1936, p4.

[31] Regards, 19 November 1936, p14.

[32] Michael Alpert notes that such schools, "established for the emergency training of temporary wartime officers," could never provide sufficient officers for the Republican armies. He argues that the reasons for this were probably social: men considered of officer material in most armies would have been regarded with suspicion in Republican Spain due to their higher social class and education. Those eligible may have had little sympathy for the breakdown of social order they had witnessed, and would have been unlikely to possess a certificate of political orthodoxy from a trade union or political party required by the authorities. See Alpert, Michael: "Soldiers, Politics and War," in Preston, Paul (ed): Revolution and War in Spain, 1931-1939, Methuen, London, 1984, pp213-4.

lesson with exemplary concentration. Both photographs conveyed a sense of the rigors of training, the caption to this image stressing the length of the hours worked: "Après les heures d'instruction pratique, les cours se poursuivent dans les salles."

A third image captioned: "La leçon de maniement d'armes" depicted a class of about fifteen men undergoing rifle instruction in a courtyard. In the background another company of soldiers moved into formation, suggesting that training was as much practical as theoretical in orientation. Beneath this photograph another indoor shot showed soldiers once more in the classroom context, sitting like attentive schoolboys at desks spread with papers and books, reading blackboards covered with complicated diagrams. The caption argued the conscientiousness of the students: "Les futurs chefs suivent avec attention la "théorie"", self-discipline encouraging them to greater achievement. The final image in the sequence was taken outdoors and showed a group of forty militiamen, this time in an array of civilian and military dress, being taught the various components of a rifle. They were gathered around their instructing officer on the sunny steps of the academy, one of the men diligently taking notes. The accompanying article reaffirmed the value of such instruction to the Republican side, and stressed the students' Popular Front allegiances:

> Le gouvernement de la République espagnole, en pleine bataille, se préoccupe de former des officiers et des sous-officiers aptes au commandement, et l'on sait que c'est là un problème vitale pour l'armée du peuple. Une école militaire a été créée à Barcelone, dont les élèves sont recrutés parmi les miliciens et militants du Front Populaire, et où ils apprennent tout l'essentiel de la technique militaire moderne.

The French pro-Republican press thus emphasized photographically the consciousness with which the Republican military instilled discipline into its leaders, intent on portraying them as a serious fighting force equal to the task of defending democracy and worthy of French support.

If the French and British press emphasized different qualities in the Republican militiamen in accordance with the preoccupations of their culture, the illustrated press of both nations shared nevertheless a powerful mythology in its representation of soldiers at war. This myth seemed to have survived the First World War virtually intact despite the experiences

of the soldiers who lived through that baptism of fire. Although as David Englander writes in his study of French soldiers between 1914 and 1918:

> The archaic conception of the soldier as the embodiment of courage, honour, self-sacrifice and other non-bourgeois virtues was shattered by the tyranny of technology; at the front men became objects not agents,[33]

in 1936 certainly the notions of courage, honour and self-sacrifice still adhered tenaciously to prevalent images of the fighting man.[34] Courage and self-sacrifice in particular carried a powerful persuasive charge, both concepts intrinsic to the representation of militiamen in both the French and British pro-Republican press. Yet even these concepts were represented differently according to the cultural priorities of each nation, the French preferring the more glamorous action photograph where the British tended to concentrate on the inequality of the terms of the battle.

The pro-Republican British press's insistence on the courage of the Republican soldiers was most clearly expressed in a photograph which appeared in the Daily Herald[35] on 11 November. Not only is this image the closest approximation to a battle photograph printed in the British press during the period under review, it is unusual for its depiction of the "enemy" within the same frame as the Republican protagonists, and from this it derives a special power. It is unusual also for being taken apparently after dark, and suggests an attention to photographic technique found comparatively rarely in the pages of the British press. In the foreground a row of soldiers stood in ranks along a trench, rifles trained melodramatically on the opposite hill over a no-man's-land of rubble. On the distant slope an armoured tank travelled alone through the night, a shaft of mysterious, almost biblical light slashing the sky before it. The image's caption highlights the militiamen's courage: "Loyalists fight Tank," it announces. "Government troops defending entrenchment in the

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[33] Englander, David: "The French Soldier 1914-18" in French History, Vol 1, no 1, March 1987, pp52.

[34] In his essay on "Modernism and the Photographic Representation of War and Destruction," Bernd Hüppauf observes that certain forms of representation, although superceded by events, were preserved nonetheless in the photographs of the First World War. He writes: "The archaic war that had come to an end in 1915 was maintained in the world of photographic representation even when early images of enthusiasm were replaced with those of suffering, exhaustion or despair." (Chapter forthcoming in Leslie Devereux and Roger Hillman (eds): nt, Oxford University Press, 1992, np.)

[35] Daily Herald, 11 November 1936, p2.

suburbs of Madrid against a rebel tank seen moving along the road in the background." The implied heroism, however, invites qualification: the militiamen were after all standing passively, awaiting the tank's approach, rather than staging an active assault; and above all mere ground-soldiers armed with simple rifles were being pitted against the mechanized power of tanks. This in no way diminishes the impression of Republican courage; but it is a courage measured by the inequality of the terms of battle, to such an extent that the gulf between heroism and martyrdom narrows, giving rise to a creeping defeatism.

Where the British pro-Republican press published images of inequality in equipment and training between the two sides as an index of Republican courage, the French press preferred the action shot - scenes from actual battles - for the demonstration of bravery. A picture appearing in Regards[36] on 8 October and credited to Reisner seems to epitomise the French representation of the Republican soldier at war and is outstanding in its own right as an action photograph. Taken, the caption informs us, during the battle for the Alcazar, it depicts a militiaman crouched forward with his rifle, throwing himself from the comparative shelter of a damaged building into the fray of battle. Photographed through a gap in a crumbling wall, the soldier ventures into unknown dangers, smoking rubble and splintered timber underfoot. Beyond him and beyond the stone-littered roadway the collapsing walls of other buildings are visible through the haze, itself evocative of the uncertainty of war. Dressed in uniform with only his soft militiacap for protection, the soldier seems the very embodiment of courage. The caption, laconic, communicates his heroism simply: "Dans les ruines de l'Alcazar, un milicien s'élance." The form of the photograph is itself instrumental in conveying his bravery, the soldier's distinctness against the blurred background implying a will untouched by doubt or fear. As such, it communicates a far less ambiguous message than does the Daily Herald's photograph of militiamen confronting a tank.

Self-sacrifice as a defining quality of the Republican militiamen was taken for granted by the pro-Republican press in Britain and France, the idea of soldier-as-martyr proving

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[36] Regards, 8 October 1936, p9.

equally powerful on either side of the Channel. Often closely linked to this selflessness was the notion of the militiamen's youth,[37] young men co-opted in imagery - as in life - to the struggle. In photographs published in both countries youth was used to intensify the image's primary message, whether it be discipline, bravery or altruism; in depictions of the self-sacrificing conduct of the militiamen it was employed to considerable effect.

An example of this appeared in the Daily Herald[38] on 26 October, in which a young boy wearing a beret was photographed saluting the camera. Three children and two men in their twenties stood in the background, possibly hospital patients, since the caption declared that the saluting boy was "Spain's youngest soldier in the Civil War - he is not yet 14 years old - leaving a hospital in Verjera, after recovering from a wound received in action against the rebels." It was enough that this boy had been injured fighting for the Republican cause for the Daily Herald to establish his selflessness; his sacrifice seems all the greater, however, given the fact he is little more than a child.

A photograph credited to the Keystone agency and reproduced in Vu[39] on 23 September operates in a similar fashion. A group of six militiamen, some of them barely eighteen, stood on a ploughed but unsewn hillside, their wrists roped together, their eyes downcast in submission. A white-haired Insurgent officer, combining the authority of age and rank, stood beside the militiamen jotting down information in a notebook, while several more Insurgent officers stood on the left hand side of the image, their tall, uniformed physiques dwarfing the patchily-dressed militiamen. One of the Insurgent soldiers trained his rifle on the prisoners. The caption highlighted the militiamen's age, implying that their youth ought to exempt them from punishment, and perhaps even responsiblity for their deeds: "Ils sont bien jeunes, ces défenseurs de Bilbao qui viennent d'être faits prisonniers. Ramenés vers l'arrière, ils sont aussitôt interrogés par un officier nationaliste." The youth

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[37] The primacy of youth and "the pull of youth movements on older statesmen" during the summer of 1936 in both the Republican and Insurgent camps is remarked upon by Raymond Carr in The Spanish Tragedy: The Civil War in Perspective, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1977, p81.

[38] Daily Herald, 26 October 1936, p2.

[39] Vu, 23 September 1936, p1108.

of the militiamen was used again to intensify the propagandist message - the selflessness of the Republican soldiers.[40]

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That the pro-Insurgent press in Britain and France should depict the Republican soldiers in an altogether different light is hardly surprising; yet their means of disparagement corresponded clearly to the assertions of the sympathetic press, and were drawn from the same cultural pool. Just as the French and British press sympathetic to the Republican cause differed in their representations of the militiamen, so too were different defamatory tactics considered more or less persuasive amongst the hostile press. Thus Britain's Daily Mail and Illustrated London News, and Le Matin, l'Illustration and Paris-Soir in France, all attacked the Republican soldiers along both ideological and cultural lines; the hostile French press was particularly thorough in its attempts to "deconstruct" the mythological ediface the Republican press had erected in definition of the soldiers it supported.

Both the pro-Insurgent French and British press made concerted attempts to depict the Republican soldiers not as idealistic defenders of democracy, but as communist fanatics. Thus as early as 28 July the Daily Mail,[41] under the heading: "At the Mercy of the Reds in Madrid", printed a photograph of a grim-faced Insurgent officer captured by five militiamen who held him by the elbows, training a pistol on him and smiling with obvious pleasure at their success. The caption, ideologically partial, injects added menace into the photograph: "One of the officers of the anti-Red troops who were forced to surrender when they were besieged in the Montana Barracks in Madrid, being marched off by his jeering captors..." Not content with taking the officer prisoner, the "Red" militiamen also sought to humiliate him, a sure sign of their barbarous instincts.

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[40] A second photograph published in Vu (ibid), records the same militiamen, their wrists still tied, being led away by the Insurgent soldiers over the furrowed, rock-hard soil. Again the youth of the soldiers is emphasized, this time with more ominous overtones: "Qu'ont répondu ces prisonniers aux questions précises de l'officier nationaliste? Où les emmène-t-on ainsi encadrés de soldats qui les poussent, les baïonnette dans le dos?...malgré leur jeunesse, ces vaincus ne vont-ils pas subir la loi du talion?"

[41] Daily Mail, 28 July 1936, p9.

For the hostile French press, fanaticism derived from the Republicans' divergence from the norms of civilized behaviour, as was shown in an image printed in Le Matin[42] on 2 September. (Fig.9). Two rows of militiamen wearing espadrilles and a variety of uniforms saluted the camera with fists and bayonets raised; one of them had attached a flag bearing the hammer and sickle emblem to his rifle. Facing the camera with his back to his men, a rotund, bespectacled militia leader brandished his pistol over his head. The caption singles him out for special attention: "À Barcelone. - Dans la cour de la caserne Karl-Marx, des miliciens acclament le Frente popular en levant leurs fusils. En avant: brandissant un pistolet, le député socialiste Vidiella." The caption implies that, although little better could be expected from his men, the deputy's behaviour characterised him more as a political fanatic than a respectable leader.

Perhaps the most powerful ideological charge made by the pro-Insurgent press against the Republican soldiers concerned their violent anti-clericalism. Surprisingly, however, it was the British press which was the more aggressive in this respect,[43] concerned to show not just the results of church burnings but Republican soldiers in the act of desecration, holding them unequivocally responsible. The two most striking such images contained women. The first appeared on 7 August in the Daily Mail[44] and was given a certain prominence in its positioning on the top right hand corner of the picture page. In it, a number of Republican militiamen in a variety of uniforms posed before the altar of a church, like a choir surrounded by the trappings of ritual - candles, tapestries and holy relics. At least four militiamen held firearms. Sinisterly, three skulls were displayed on the altar, while a fourth was balanced on the knee of another militiaman. Two soldiers tried on the clerical robes, while another pair saluted the camera. In the shadows behind them a single woman wearing the large earrings of traditional Spanish costume looked on silently, her presence conferring approval, and thereby deepening the offence.

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[42] Le Matin, 2 September 1936, p8.

[43] Such images seemed to be more the province of the Catholic press than of the pro-Insurgent dailies in France.

[44] Daily Mail, 7 August 1936, p16.

To readers of the Daily Mail, whatever their religious beliefs, such an image conveyed the horror of blasphemy and desecration. The presence of firearms defiling the sanctity of the church; the lack of respect for church vestments and for the dead, their skulls disinterred from the crypt; and the condoning presence of the woman - all these elements contributed to the impression of violation and a sense of morality outraged. The caption is a model of anti-Republican sentiment in its evocation of the Republican anti-Christ: "Brought home by a refugee, this picture is another example of the war on religion by Spanish Reds - malignant atheists who, in their fight for an anti-Christ government, have destroyed marvellous churches which were among Spain's chief glories..." Objections in the pro-Insurgent British press were registered not in spiritual terms but in the language of ideological preference lamenting the damage perpetrated to property.

The second photograph, syndicated by Associated Press, followed a week later in the Daily Mail[45] and was printed under the heading: "Red Firing-Squad Takes Aim at Holy Monument in Spain." (Fig.10). Enlarged to fill a third of the tabloid page, one corner of the image was overlaid with a smaller photograph of a desecrated church serving as a reminder of the Republicans' virulent atheism. ("...An example of Red sacrelige in a church at Vallecas...Ruin surrounds the desecrated altar, and it is stated that a street bonfire was made of the vestments.") Simple in composition, the main photograph depicted a firing-squad of eight civilian-soldiers levelling their rifles at a monumental stone statue of Christ mounted on an open hilltop. A woman dressed in overalls stood nearby witnessing the scene, apparently approving the symbolic assassination. The caption equates the destruction of the monument with an attack on the very heart of Spain: "[The photograph] shows a communist firing squad aiming at the colossal Monument of the Sacred Heart on the Cerro de los Angeles, a hill a few miles south of Madrid which is regarded as the exact centre of Spain," and insists on the extraordinary barbarism of the Repubicans: "This picture, taken by a Paramount Newsreel representative...illustrates an

[45] Daily Mail, 15 August 1936, p18. The considerable propagandist power of this symbolic photograph is borne out by the frequency of its subsequent publication. It appears in publications as diverse as the Spanish Enciclopedia Univers Ilustrada Europeo-Americana, (Espasa, Barcelona, Supplemento Annual 1936-1939, Segunda Parte, p1566), and in Gabriel Jackson: A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War, Thames and Hudson, London, 1974, p66.

incident which has no parallel in the photographs published by the Daily Mail of the Spanish Reds' war on religion."

None of the French pro-Insurgent publications matched the vitriol of the Daily Mail's photographs, so revealing of the paper's twin concerns for property and morality. Although Paris-Soir for example published photographs of militiamen sleeping in churches,[46] the French publications on the whole were less interested in establishing Republican anti-clericalism. Instead they were more concerned with debunking myths of the militiamen's courage, self-sacrifice and honour so carefully constructed by the pro-Republican press; British efforts to do so were less concerted. Republican virtues were effectively lampooned in L'Illustration[47] on 8 August (Fig.11), in an image which charged the militiamen with laziness and debauchery. Four soldiers in militia uniforms were shown sitting at an outdoor café table, the unshaven militiaman nearest the camera poised about to drink from a wine-bottle. The soldier opposite slouched in a wicker chair reading a picture magazine. An ashtray, a glass and a breadroll lay abandoned on the tabletop, while the various pieces of clothing hanging from the window above them added to the impression of casual disorder; certainly the image does much to undermine Republican assertions of self-discipline. The caption is eloquently laconic: "Un poste de carabiniers et de soldats fidèles au gouvernement," its allegations of Republican slovenliness unmistakably if obliquely conveyed.

For the pro-Insurgent British press Republican courage was also undermined by photographs used in testimony of Republican indiscipline. A series of five photographs, published in the Illustrated London News[48] under the title: "SPANISH MANHOOD IN CIVIL WAR: TYPES OF GOVERNMENT SOLDIERS," depicted Republican militiamen attending "a soldiers' council in the Government Army," listening to a speaker outdoors. (Fig.12). No two soldiers were dressed alike in any image; one had a cigarette tucked behind his ear; another was described as "a confident and articulate type *contrasting with some of the others*" (my italics); while still more were characterized as frankly stupid:

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[46] See Paris-Soir, 31 July 1936, p5.

[47] L'Illustration, 8 August 1936, p433.

[48] Illustrated London News, 24 October 1936, pp727-8.

"Young Spanish Government soldiers unconsciously registering bewildered interest in arguments they apparently fail to grasp." The fifth photograph in the sequence, alleging indiscipline, countered the Republican myth of the militiamen's courage most blatantly. A young soldier wearing a neckscarf, cap and odd pieces of militia-uniform stood with a rope instead of the usual leather strap attached to his ammunition box. His eyes were in shadow and his lips parted as he listened. There are no apparent grounds within the image for the accusation that: "Among a multitude of types forming the rank and file of the government forces, [this is] one likely to need discipline." With judgement based on nothing more substantial than the young man's appearance, the perceptive comment of Brian Crosthwaite concerning political bias in Spanish newsreels comes forcefully into its own:

> Shots of unkempt militiamen contrasted with Mola's smart regulars, backed by carefully worded and tendentious commentary, impel the innocent middle classes to side with the better dressed.[49]

The entire Republican self-image was effectively thrown into question by the British press's repeated assertions of stupidity and indiscipline, especially when coupled with accusations of Republican fanaticism, barbarity, atheism.

The other cornerstones of the Republican soldier myth - the militiamen's self-sacrifice and honour - were given short shrift by the French pro-Insurgent publications, while in the British press this passed photographically unchallenged. For the French, photographs of Republicans captured or in defeat made their altruism seem worthless and their honour cheap, a sense of shame more prevalent than valour. An image reproduced in L'Illustration[50] on 12 September provides one example. Depicting in its foreground a quantity of rifles heaped together on the sand on Hendaye beach in France, the image is an emblem of failure. The owners of the rifles stood in the background examining attentively their feet, the mound of weapons, even the horizon, looking anywhere but at the accusatory camera, fighting men ashamed of being associated with the defenceless - with women and refugees. A few women stood staring at the rifles perhaps in disbelief,

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[49] Crosthwaite, Brian: "Newsreels Show Political Bias. Editing of Spanish War Scenes Disclose Partisan Views," World Film News, vol 1, 1936, no 7, p41.

[50] L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p42.

while others paused at the water's edge, gazing across the river at the low hills and houses from which they'd fled. The image in its entirety was one of abject defeat, although the caption concentrated entirely on the details of escape and landing:

> Les civils et les miliciens d'Irun qui ne pouvaient gagner la France par le pont international empruntaient des barques pour la traversée de Bidassoa; dès le débarquement, les miliciens étaient invités à déposer leurs armes, les blessés étaient transportés à bras d'homme, les femmes se serraient en groupes...

In its symbolic association of Republican fighting men with the outcast, the helpless and the injured, L'Illustration effectively demonstrated that Republican claims to self-sacrifice, courage, and honour were but a myth.

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The persistence of the traditional image of the soldier - courageous, self-sacrificing, honourable and disciplined - in the collective consciousness of Britain and France proved of considerable benefit to the Republican propaganda machine, able to mobilise preconceptions already present in the popular imagination in its portrayal of the militiamen. That this myth should have endured in both cultures argues a large degree of common territory between the two nations. The pro-Republican press had only to articulate these qualities in images showing the youthfulness of the Republican combattants, or in technically impressive photographs of combattants in action, for a clear propagandist message to be conveyed.

Beyond the photographic enunciation of these ready-made myths, however, the sympathetic French and British publications relied largely upon their own resources in representing the militiamen. Each country's own preoccupations and the particularites of its collective imagination came to the fore, invading the images of men at arms as the press tried to portray them in the manner most seductive to the population they hoped to persuade. Thus the British, fearful the Spanish workers might set all too potent a revolutionary example amongst their own working classes, assiduously shortcircuited the implications of the early barricade photographs. Where the French pro-Republican press revelled in jubilant images of workers manning barricades, drawing unambiguous parallels

with their own revolutionary past, the British downplayed the movement's spontaneity, implying organisation and containment where none existed, almost to the point of contradicting their own images. Civilians and militiamen were consistently represented as two distinct entities, sharing little more than a similarity of interests. The French pro-Republican press, in contrast, was unflagging in asserting the extent of civilian commitment to and participation in the Republican cause, photographing peasant militiamen on donkeyback and workers on the point of taking up arms in illustration of the popular composition of the militias. Demonstrations of support by massing crowds was the closest the British pro-Republican press dared come to illustrating the links between the militias and the people.

A British concern with respectability surfaced early on as a high priority. The process of reassurance took several forms, photographs of militiamen with British athletes, or guarding public buildings as a sign of their respect for property, were employed to calm British fears of a communist take-over in Spain. Numerous shots of the militiamen's daily lives, and even photographs of Republican weddings, were all aimed to this end. More persuasive than respectability to the French *mentalité* was the notion of a concern for culture; the French pro-Republican press went to great lengths to assert this and a drive for literacy as a crucial Republican priority. For the British, Republican courage was emphasized through the representation of the unequal terms of battle, powerful for its appeal to a British sense of fair-play, while a French taste for the glamorous and the sensational conferred a particular resonance upon action photographs of battle published in the French pro-Republican press.

The pro-Insurgent press engaged the pro-Republican publications on terms which corresponded to these same myths and attitudes. Thus the Nationalist press in both Britain and France sought to counter Republican claims to the heroic soldier myth by portraying the Republicans as pistol-brandishing fanatics, or as undisciplined wastrels killing time in bars, or as cowards and deserters gathering on the beach at Hendaye. For the British pro-Insurgent press they were also rabid atheists, determined to eradicate religion from Spanish soil. At all times, however, the aspects of the Republican militimen chosen for representation whether by the pro-Republican or the pro-Insurgent press reflected the

prevalent myths and the dominant cultural concerns of the countries that published them. In this sense these photographs of the Republican militiamen can be seen as bearing relation less to any professed "reality" in Spain than to the mentality of the countries in which those images had currency.

CHAPTER 2: PROPAGANDA AND MYTH - THE COMBATTANTS
PART B: INSURGENT SOLDIERS AND MOORS

While the pro-Republican press of Britain and France elaborated soldier myths drawn in part from inherited constructs, in part from contemporary attitudes, the pro-Insurgent press had access to far more specific mythical themes in its promotion of the Insurgent soldier. The propaganda potential of the two-month siege of the Alcazar fortress at Toledo for example was not lost on the pro-Nationalist press, which extracted considerable photographic advantage from an event which it cast in legendary terms. The notion too of the holy crusade against communism gave rise to some of the most effective propaganda images of the war, despite the fact that this concept only began to take root towards the end of 1936. In the early months however, before these myths were established, the French and British pro-Insurgent publications defined the individual Insurgent soldier in terms almost identical to those employed by the pro-Republican press to characterise the militiamen.

Courage, discipline and efficiency were prized as attributes of the Insurgent soldier just as they were of the militiamen; likewise the army's benevolence and the broad popularity of its cause. As in the pro-Republican press, injury and capture were self-sacrifice, if not heroic martyrdom. Such similarities of representation in two camps so diametrically opposed strongly suggest that the same soldier-myth prevailed in both Britain and France and preceeded the ideologies that deployed it. Moreover, both the British and French pro-Insurgent press represented the Moorish troops mobilised on the Nationalist side in terms that conformed to this same stereotypical model.

Not surprisingly, the pro-Republican press responded to these photographs in almost the same way that the pro-Insurgent press had responded to images of the militiamen - thus the Nationalist soldiers were discredited for their barbarism, their ineptitude, and the cowardice which made of them prisoners or deserters. Although the pro-Republican press also employed other, more specific terms of disparagement, the degree of similarity

between these negative images also implies a commonly-held conception of soldiery in both nations.

This is not to argue, however, that images of each were wholly interchangeable, despite George Orwell's observations. Pro-Insurgent representations of Franquist soldiers differed from the pro-Republican representation of militiamen for instance in the lack of connections drawn between the Insurgents and the people of Spain. Recruitment photographs were rare, images showing the transition from civilian to soldier non-existent; even a sense of an immeditate coincidence of interests is absent. Instead these publications promoted a paternalistic ideology. The army was a class apart; it fought and was unquestionably responsible for the people's own good, requiring only that the civilian population demonstrate approval when cities fell and soldiers set out for battle. Relations between Insurgent soldiers and civilians were represented as far more formal than those between the people and the militias, as portrayed in the pro-Republican press. Pro-Insurgent propaganda concentrated unremittingly on the qualities of its soldiers while their rapport with the rest of the nation went virtually unexplored.

Of the British publications under examination, it is the Daily Mail and the Illustrated London News which furnish the major sources of pro-Insurgent imagery, while in France Le Matin and L'Illustration provided a steady stream of Insurgent photographs, Paris-Soir and Match also contributing. The first part of this analysis will examine the qualities attributed to the Insurgent soldiers, and through them, to the cause, comparing these qualities with those attributed to the Republican forces by their sympathetic press; the second will trace the development of the myth of the crusade, before turning to the portrayal of the Moors. The final part will consider briefly the pro-Republican press' response to Insurgent self-representation, exploring the extent to which the pro-Republican press engaged photographically with Nationalist propaganda.

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Just as the perception of courage furnished an essential part of the Republican soldier-myth, so too was it deemed vital to the Insurgent self-image. Yet the limitations which

beset the pro-Republican British press in their depiction of Republican heroism also plagued their pro-Insurgent counterparts, the lack of action photographs rendering all allusion to bravery mere assertion. Insurgent sympathisers in Britain had to content themselves with images of soldiers lying in wait on mountain paths, fording rivers or advancing over difficult terrain.[1] The French press in contrast printed a wealth of action photographs, of which an image printed in L'Illustration[2] on 29 August was typical. Attributed to the Keystone agency, it depicted a company of forty Insurgent soldiers racing up a grassy ridge, rifles at the ready. The impression of courage derives largely from the invisible danger towards which these men were fearlessly running, casting no shadows as they moved, their figures distinct in an empty landscape under an overcast sky. The caption's laconic explanation heightens the impression of bravery through understatement: "Troupes insurgées progressant aux environs de Saint-Sébastien."

The one action photograph published in the British press which does bear comparison with the French photographs of Insurgent bravery was printed in the Daily Mail[3] and recorded the relief of the Toledo Alcazar. (Fig.13). It also simultaneously recorded the birth of the Alcazar myth. Enlarged to half the length and two-thirds the width of the entire picture page, the photograph was printed under the title: "IN TOLEDO AFTER THE ALCAZAR WAS RELIEVED" and depicted three Insurgent soldiers scrambling up a mountain of rubble towards a small figure poised at the top, directing his gun down at the advancing men. The image's lack of clear definition injects a sense of drama into the picture which persists despite evidence of retouching. The photograph is unusual for capturing two opposing sides locked in combat within a single frame - and for being taken from such close quarters;[4] the caption however is most concerned with and reserves special praise for the bravery of the Insurgent soldiers.

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[1] See for example the Illustrated London News, 15 August 1936, p269; 14 November 1936, p856; and the Daily Mail, 25 August 1936, p16; 31 August 1936, p20.

[2] L'Illustration, 29 August 1936, p514.

[3] Daily Mail, 2 October 1936, p20.

[4] Discussing combat images of the Second World War, Paul Fussell notes in The Boy Scout Handbook and Other Observations (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1982, p234), that "Photographs of combat infantry in action are rare...because the photographer is seldom in front of the attacking troops: what we see are expressive but anonymous backs..."

> One of the most dramatic pictures taken in Toledo after the thrilling siege of the Alcazar had been brought to an end, and General Franco's anti-Red troops were clearing the town of the few remaining rebels. The photographer siezed his chance when, among the ruins near the Alcazar, he saw a retreating Red turn to fire on his dauntless pursuers.

Discipline and efficiency were twin qualities valued by both the British and French pro-Insurgent press; that photographs of Insurgent soldiers standing in formation in city squares,[5] or on parade before taking part in the battle for Madrid,[6] should appear more frequently in the French than the British press may indicate that such discipline carried greater persuasive power for the French, or simply that it was automatically assumed by the British. Yet such images were far outnumbered by photographs depicting Insurgent efficiency in warfare. Numerous photographs reassured the pro-Insurgent public in both nations that the Franquist troops were skilled in operating communications systems, artillery and canon, and that their organisational prowess was second to none.[7]

A photograph enlarged and reprinted in the Illustrated London News on 8 August represented Insurgent efficiency without the assistance of technical props, asserting competence as an inherent Insurgent quality. In an image of almost archaic reverberations given the encroaching technological war, a single Franquist soldier was shown riding a horse across a wide plain, eight other horses roped to his. In the background dotted with haystacks and hemmed with hills could be seen traces of smoke from distant artillery fire. The soldier's skill in handling so many horses is portrayed admiringly; the caption, however, taking such efficiency for granted, concentrates purely on the strategy of warfare and ignores the horseman altogether: "One of the first photographs of the Spanish rebel forces in action to leave the country: artillery defending the Somosierra pass, in the Guadarrama Range north of Madrid, against government forces; showing (in the background) field pieces firing from a hayfield." That these characteristics of discipline, efficiency and competence were used to define the soldierly ideal in visual terms for both

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[5] Paris-Soir, 24 July 1936, p5.

[6] Paris-Soir, 16 November 1936, p12.

[7] Le Matin (15 December 1936, p8), L'Illustration (8 August 1936, p432), and the Daily Mail (21 July 1936, p16) all printed images of Insurgent troops operating artillery, while the Illustrated London News (5 September 1936, p396) depicted a mule train carrying ammunition to Insurgent soldiers.

Insurgent and Republican publications suggests that such preconceptions were equally prevalent in both Britain and France regardless of ideology, and that these notions formed part of the collective imagination of each country.

The pro-Insurgent and the pro-Republican press of both countries also made some effort to demonstrate the benevolence of their soldiers and the popularity of their cause amongst the civilian population. Insurgent indulgence towards the Spanish people took the form of paternalistic display, while attempts to illustrate Nationalist popularity relied upon scenes of demonstrating crowds.

One photograph, used by both the French and British pro-Insurgent press to argue Insurgent concern for the welfare of the people, was printed in Le Matin[8] on 16 November, a slightly different version appearing in the Daily Mail[9] the following day. With its closer focus and lack of extraneous detail allowing it to make its point more forcefully, Le Matin's photograph seems the more effective. Four small children, three boys and one girl, stood against a wall before two uniformed Insurgent soldiers (the Daily Mail's version in fact reveals a company of seven) who dwarfed them with their statuesque proportions under the weight of uniforms, rifles and hats. One of the soldier's rifles, enlarged by its position close to the camera and whitewashed by the light, stood in intimidating proximity to the children. The youngest boy clasped a bowl in his left hand while his right clutched his stomach as if in hunger. Opposite, one of the soldiers held a spoon towards him, offering food, but the powerful propagandist appeal of the spectacle of kindly soldier succoring the victims of war was undermined by the child's accusatory gaze towards the camera, his brother and sister following suit, apparently unwilling to play their assigned role.

The Daily Mail's version appeared little more successful, though its intention appeared to be the same as Le Matin's. In it, the seven bowl-holding soldiers were ignored by the smallest child, levelling again his mistrustful gaze at the camera. Its caption, preoccupied

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[8] Le Matin, 16 November 1936, p1.

[9] Daily Mail, 17 November 1936, p7.

by matters strategic, stressed nevertheless the soldiers' beneficence: "Feeding Spanish Children - soldiers of General Franco's army feeding hungry children in the village of Alcorcon, which was occupied by the Anti-Red forces in the course of their advance on Madrid." Le Matin's caption, the more frankly propagandist, credited the photograph to Keystone and stated: "Devant Madrid les soldats nationalistes ravitaillent de malhereux enfants abandonnés." Both strove to demonstrate generosity arising from pathos, represented as a feature of Franquist paternalism.

Consistent with representations of benevolence in the pro-Insurgent press was the asserted popularity of the Insurgent cause. This phenomenon was demonstrated almost exclusively through photographs of crowds, its propagandist message intensified on occasions by the presence of women and children.[10] One of the most effective such images appeared in L'Illustration[11] on 5 September and depicted a long column of Insurgent soldiers marching through the crowd-thronged streets of Seville. Photographed from behind, the soldiers marched down a tram-lined street in dark uniforms, weapons in prominent display. Civilians watched the parade from doorways, while underfoot hundreds of carnations lay trampled, a symbol of spent jubilation. The page is headed: "UNE JOURNÉE DE FÊTE À SÉVILLE," while the caption stated simply: "Les miliciens d'escorte de la procession marchent sur une chaussée jonchée de fleurs." The accompanying article implied a depth of popular support for the Insurgent forces and for the values they upheld:

> La tranquillité de Séville permettait de donner plus d'éclat aux deux fêtes de samedi 15 août. L'une était la procession de la Vierge des Rois, dont la statue remonte, dit-on, à Saint Ferdinand...et à Saint Louis. L'autre, le retour du drapeau rouge-or-rouge, couleurs traditionnelles de l'Espagne. Les insurgés, en pleine guerre civile, fêtaient leur foi religieuse et leur foi dans l'insurrection...

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[10] See for example the photograph of women and children saluting Insurgent soldiers on parade within sight of the El Coronil village church, in the Illustrated London News, 15 August 1936, p269. A photograph in Le Matin (24 October 1936, p10) also implied Insurgent popularity by showing the women of Avila waiting obediently on eleven Insurgent soldiers.

[11] L'Illustration, 5 September 1936, p21.

Grafting a political event onto an older, religious festival, the Insurgents derived maximum propagandist advantage from this merger of the religious, the traditional and the political. The crowds of civilians were used to imply the popularity of the Insurgent cause.[12]

Since the soldierly virtues of courage, discipline, benevolence and popularity were used in photographic praise of both Insurgent soldiers and militiamen, the pro-Insurgent press sought to identify specific qualities which could distinguish its soldiers as superior to their Republican counterparts. To this end the pro-Insurgent press conducted a relentless campaign to represent the Insurgent soldiers as consistently victorious. No success, however minor, went unrecorded; no gain, however paltry, unacclaimed. Thus the Illustrated London News printed photographs of Insurgent soldiers on victory marches through countless Spanish villages, laying claim to deserted Republican trenches, or taking the enemy prisoner;[13] while in France L'Illustration and Le Matin celebrated photographs of Insurgent soldiers interrogating captured militiamen, hoisting their flag in newly-won territory, or posing beside captured Republican tanks.[14] No other event during the early months of the war, however, provoked such a wealth of victory images as did the relief of the besieged Alcazar fortress at Toledo.

Both the French and British pro-Insurgent press depicted the victory in Toledo in similar terms, concentrating in particular on the civilian survivors but wasting no opportunity to praise the endurance of the soldiers who withstood the two-month siege of the military academy. Its relief, on 28 September 1936, assumed mythic proportions in the pages of the pro-Insurgent press. A photograph reproduced in Le Matin[15] on 2 October (Fig.14) for example depicted a group of Insurgent soldiers posing in lines for the camera, a white-

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[12] Insurgent popularity was occasionally demonstrated by more unusual means, as a Daily Mail photograph (25 August 1936, p16) showed. In it two uniformed officials sorted through boxes of gold jewellery voluntarily "surrendered" by the population to assist the "Anti-Red cause."

[13] See for example the Illustrated London News, 15 August 1936, p269; 5 September 1936, p395; 14 November 1936, p856.

[14] See for example Le Matin, 29 November 1936, p8; 9 October 1936, p1; 27 October 1936, p8; and L'Illustration, 21 November 1936, pp354-5; 19 September 1936, p70.

[15] Le Matin, 2 October 1936, p8.

coated doctor and their leader, Colonel Moscado, standing in their midst. Bearded, bandaged, and haphazardly dressed, these gaunt-faced soldiers bore visible signs of their ten-week ordeal which the camera took pains to record, underscoring their heroism. A number of the soldiers stood in physical contact with each other, hands on shoulders testifying to a cameraderie strengthened by shared experience; even the colonel was included in this rough fellowship. A woman - one of the civilian survivors - stood at the picture's edge, discounted by the camera and indeed cropped out altogether in the paper's subsequent reproduction of it the following day.[16] Behind the group one of the fortress's damaged towers suggested the severity of the battles which preceded their victory. The caption effectively transformed what was essentially a peripheral incident of the war, albeit one which cost Franco the early capture Madrid,[17] into the stuff of legend: "AVEC LES NATIONAUX ESPAGNOLS:...Le Colonel Moscado au milieu de ses compagnons, les héroïques défenseurs de l'Alcazar..."

General Franco lost no time in visiting the scene of these events, and was repeatedly photographed amid the relieving troops, eager to extract all propagandist potential from the Alcazar triumph.[18] (Fig.15). The Daily Mail[19] among others printed one of these photographs in its 2 October issue, portraying General Franco - impeccable as usual in full uniform - walking beside General Varela, in charge of the Alcazar's relief. Relaxed, he was dressed in his shirt-sleeves and carried his hat in his hands; he smiled as he spoke with General Franco, confident in the afterglow of victory. The image's background was filled with the fortress' crumbling ruins and groups of soldiers presumably fresh from

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[16] Le Matin, 3 October 1936, p10. Her presence perhaps undermined the sense of fraternal comradeship which suffused the image, despite the fact that her status as a fellow survivor legitimised her place among the men.

[17] See Southworth, Herbert: Le Mythe de la croisade de Franco, Rudeo Ibérico, Paris, 1964, pp67-8, and Thomas, Hugh: The Spanish Civil War, p413. Both also furnish versions of the largely falsified accounts of the death of Moscado's son, supposedly a result of the colonel's refusal to surrender the Alcazar to the Republicans besieging it.

[18] See for example the cover of L'Illustration, 10 October 1936. In The Spanish Civil War (p23), Hugh Thomas records that there were those who believed that Franco had engineered the entire "diversion from the road to Madrid" simply to further his political ambitions. Certainly these images would not have harmed such plans.

[19] Daily Mail, 2 October 1936, p20.

battle. Franco's presence crowned the Insurgent victory, conferring importance upon the incident and heightening its propagandist impact. Nor did it go unremarked in the Daily Mail's caption: "General Franco (right) and General Vasela (sic) walking among the ruins of the Alcazar to chat to the relieved troops. In the background is one of the barricades erected to stem the Red onslaught." The language in which it was cast, the images in which it was portrayed, and indeed the details which were left out,[20] transformed this victory into legend, creating a powerful propagandist instrument without counterpart on the Republican side.

The singlemost potent propagandist weapon mobilized by the pro-Insurgent press was incontestably the notion of the holy crusade. Through it the pro-Insurgent press acquired a ready-made catalogue of iconographical symbols lifted directly from Spain's crusading past; its justification of war in the name of religion was a particularly convenient configuration for a cause whose power-base rested with the military backed by the church and which sought to establish itself by force.[21] Moreover, its impact was guaranteed. No quantity of images testifying to the Republicans' professed concern for the preservation of culture could counter the shock of Insurgent photographs of desecrated churches, their publication fuelling Nationalist calls for the defence of Christian civilization against communism.[22]

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[20] Hugh Thomas for instance, citing the manuscript of Lieutenant Fitzpatrick who rode into Toledo with the Foreign Legion, writes that "in reprisal for the discovery of the mutilated bodies of two airmen outside the town, no prisoners were taken on entering Toledo...the main street was running with blood down the hill to the city gates." See The Spanish Civil War, p412.

[21] In a devastating analysis Herbert Southworth demonstrates the falsity of this holy war construction, arguing that the notion of the religious crusade was alone able to provide justification, however dubious, for the church's complicity in "l'holocauste [qui reclama] un million de morts." See Le Mythe de la croisade de Franco, especially pp3-5, and Chapter 14: La Croisade, p285ff. At the time, however, the church's involvement was hardly considered in need of justification, depicted as it so frequently was as *victim* rather than agent of the strife.

[22] Some sense of nuance in the church's response to the fascist and right-wing movements of the period can be gleaned from the contemporary Catholic press, the French weekly Le Pelerin on 27 September 1936 (p727) for example printing an article in which the Pope condemned equally the anti-Christian activities of the Spanish Communists and the German National Socialists. Gabriel Jackson sees the Vatican's decision to send a nuncio to Salamanca in October 1937 as ending any hesitation the Church might have entertained about supporting Franco, indicating "its ready acceptance of the Nationalists as the future rulers of Spain." (A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War, p155.) Frances Lannon, in her essay on "The Church's Crusade Against the Republic," traces the Spanish Catholic church's deep-seated opposition to the Republican cause, arguing that "the relationship between the republic and the Church was not that of

The notion of the holy war did not come into existence with the general's revolt on 18 July, however. Although the civil war was supported by the Catholic church and was actively promoted by the Insurgents as a crusade against the communist threat, it was initially envisaged as a quick coup requiring little justification beyond the patriotic defence of Spain against socialism. While as early as 25 July El Defensor de Córdoba quoted General Franco exhorting his forces to "have faith in the outcome of the crusade",[23] it was not until October, by which time the quick coup had developed into a protracted struggle, that the first images appeared couched unmistakably in the visual language of the holy war.[24]

While the Daily Mail printed photographs associating Insurgent soldiers with the church during the months before October,[25] Paris-Soir[26] was the first publication to depict the church's unambiguous connection with the military enterprise, on 25 October 1936. An almost identical copy appeared in the Illustrated London News six days later.[27] (Fig.16). This photograph was taken in a shady square or courtyard in which a regiment of troops still on horseback stood in a neat semi-circle. The scene was highly ritualized, with two soldiers in full military dress facing each other on opposite sides of the square, an incense-burner placed nearby on a low, makeshift altar. It is the purpose of the gathering, however, which is crucial. Standing on the left-hand side of the image, bare-headed and wearing white robes, a priest stretched his arms towards the troops in benediction.

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gratituous aggressor and innocent victim." See Preston, Paul (ed): Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939, p47.

[23] Cited in Fraser, Ronald: Blood of Spain, p320n.

[24] In The Spanish Tragedy (p125-6), Raymond Carr explains this most succinctly: "Once the rising of 18 July had failed as a military take-over, the blessing of the Church became all-important. It turned civil war into a crusade, the rising...into a rebellion to save Christian civilization," whilst in the Insurgent camp "the defence of the Church...became the most emotionally-charged positive element in Nationalist thinking. Nothing contributed more to the unity of Nationalist Spain; no such simple emotion welded together the warring factions in the Republican zone."

[25] On 20 August 1936, for example, the Daily Mail depicted the Insurgent leaders being greeted by crowds outside the Burgos Cathedral. See p16.

[26] Paris-Soir, 25 October 1936, p12.

[27] Illustrated London News, 31 October 1936, p775. This image differed only in its inclusion of a group of small boys who had gathered to watch the ceremony; they were cropped out in Paris-Soir's version.

Capturing a representative of the church blessing the army before battle, the image's overtones were manifestly those of the church's crusading past, especially so in the context of Insurgent crusader rhetoric. The article which accompanied the photograph, headed "LA GRANDE ATTAQUE CONTRE MADRID," implied that such ceremonies were as ordinary a part of pre-battle routine as rifle-cleaning:

> De nombreux troupes ont quitté Valladolid à destination des armées combattant pour la possession de Madrid. Avant de partir pour la Siera (sic), les cavaliers ont été bénis par un prêtre militaire de l'armée militaire du général Mola.

Although the caption states that the priest is in the army's employ, the image's symbolism remains powerful and suggests that church and army had made common cause in the holy crusade.[28]

This was a crusade conducted with great stoicism by the Insurgent soldiers, according to the pro-Nationalist press. Not unlike the quality of selflessness which was used to enhance the reputation of the Republican soldiers in their sympathetic press, the stoic Insurgents were portrayed enduring - and surviving - harsh conditions where Republican self-sacrifice was used in mitigation of failure - of capture or injury. Again the Alcazar incident proved invaluable, providing ample evidence of stoicism for the pro-Insurgent British press, both the Daily Mail[29] and the Illustrated London News[30] quoting visually from its relief. Stoicism in the French press was conceived less in the light of specific events than of generalised conditions, although on occasions particular occurrences - an Insurgent soldier defending a position beside the dead body of a comrade,[31] or a father spending a moment of leave with his son,[32] also represented the stoic Insurgent spirit. More

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[28] Le Matin's first holy war image appeared a week later on 31 October 1936, p8, and depicted a fully-uniformed soldier bearing the Carlist banner at a victory mass in Burgos. This photograph linked the symbols of church, army *and* monarchy in a visual reiteration of the crusader myth.

[29] Daily Mail, 2 October 1936, p12.

[30] Illustrated London News, 10 October 1936, p616.

[31] Paris-Soir, 7 September 1936, p12.

[32] Le Matin, 26 December 1936, p1.

common, however, were photographs like that printed in Paris-Soir[33] on 16 December which emphasized the severe climatic conditions with which the Insurgent soldiers had to contend. In this image, a number of heavily cloaked soldiers were gathered around three artillery pieces positioned between leafless trees in the snow. The picture's caption acknowledged the bleak surroundings: "Malgré la froid et la neige, la bataille devant Madrid vient de reprendre avec acharnement..." while the following article provided further details of the difficult circumstances in which the winter war was pursued: "La neige recouvre la campagne tout autour de Madrid et le thermomètre descend parfois jusqu'à 10 degrès...Une batterie de Franco s'installe dans la neige sur le front de Novacerrada..." The presence of the soldiers, stoically enduring these gruelling conditions, invited the admiration of their supporters.

Closely linked to crusader iconography was the concept of tradition. The pro-Insurgent press, in France in particular, went to some lengths to establish a sense of continuity between past and present, often in a nostalgic appeal to popular notions of old Spain. Insurgent soldiers were therefore depicted as the guardians of Spanish tradition, and were frequently photographed with its talismen - beside a statue of Charles V,[34] in traditional military dress,[35] or with simple props exuding an aura of "Spanishness" like guitars[36] and old stone jugs.[37] The most striking of these images appeared in a set of photographs published in L'Illustration[38] on 26 September.

The first of these portrayed a gentleman in high-collared, two-thirds profile. Dressed formally in a tie and dark suit, his full head of white hair was close-cropped, and his moustache neatly-trimmed. His lips slightly apart as if in mid-speech, the man was identified as "Don Alphonso Carlos, dernier des princes carlistes." The image referred

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[33] Paris-Soir, 16 December 1936, p16.

[34] Le Matin, 28 October 1936, p8.

[35] Le Matin, 20 December 1936, p1.

[36] L'Illustration, 14 November 1936, p335. The caption itself begins: "Tradition espagnole..."

[37] Le Matin, 19 November 1936, p1.

[38] L'Illustration, 26 September 1936, p107.

directly to a photograph on the previous page depicting the same Don Carlos laden with medals and surrounded by twenty-two bereted soldiers in uniforms distinguished by an enormous number of buttons.[39] This photograph, according to the caption, was taken during the second Carlist war in 1872; the commentary strove to establish continuity between past and present: "De même, en 1936, tous les combattants sont coiffés du béret rouge." Nor did the portrait of Don Carlos stand alone. In the next column it was matched with a photograph of striking similarity, also of a moustached gentleman in suit and tie, his head turned slightly from the camera although he directed his half-smile towards it. This, the caption announced, was "Manuel Fal Conde, chef actuel et animateur du parti traditionnalist carliste," the photographs of Don Carlos investing this leader with the authority of tradition. Yet the Carlists were represented here as simply another strand in the Nationalist political configuration; little sense that they may have been a political movement in their own right or even a rival force to Franco was apparent from these images.[40] Instead their traditionalist and monarchical values were merged unproblematically into the broader Insurgent campaign.

One of the great advantages of the crusader-myth was its flexibility. Able to group the church and the military comfortably in the one stable, it was also able to absorb failure - any instance of capture, injury or death - under the banner of martyrdom. There was however one aspect of the Insurgent configuration which was not so easily accomodated by the crusader myth and indeed threatened to undermine the entire ediface. This was the employment, so crucial in that first week of hostilities and in fact long afterwards too, of Moorish troops. Flown in German-built aircraft from their garrisons in North Africa to mainland Spain, "the 24,000 men and officers [of the Army of Africa] went over completely to the Insurgents under their commander, General Franco."[41] In doing so, they altered decisively the balance of military power on the peninsula. Yet as Raymond Carr writes:

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[39] Ibid, p106.

[40] In The Spanish Civil War (pp506-8), Hugh Thomas describes General Franco's uneasy relationship with the Carlists whose leader, Fal Conde, he sent into exile in December 1936.

[41] Carr, Raymond, The Spanish Tragedy, pp88-9.

> It proved hard to incorporate these Muslims in a Christian Crusade and their presence in Spain was a godsend to the propaganda machinery of the Popular Front.[42]

For the propaganda machinery of the Insurgent camp, the presence of Moorish regulars on Spanish soil and indeed in foreign press photographs was anything but a godsend, military advantage aside. Both the French and British pro-Insurgent publications were deeply ambivalent about their engagement, on the one hand attributing to them the matrix of positive qualities derived from their own soldier myths, while on the other displaying prejudices thinly disguised. Thus both the French and British pro-Insurgent press portrayed the Moors as disciplined and efficient, playing a truly benevolent role in Spanish events. They co-opted them to the crusade regardless of historical incongruity, and cast them in the romantic conventions of European myths of the East. But photographs which depicted them as primitive aliens, or portrayed them as inferior and expendable beings, revealed an underlying racism.

Moorish discipline, chiefly the preoccupation of the French pro-Insurgent press, was implied in images of the Moroccan legions on parade,[43] queuing in orderly lines to enter aircraft,[44] or carrying out orders unquestioningly,[45] photographs which did not differ significantly from those depiciting the discipline and efficiency of the rest of the Insurgent troops. An image reproduced in Le Matin[46] provides the clearest example, recording a batallion of Moors marching three abreast, all clean-shaven and dressed identically in traditional fezes and baggy knee-length trousers, all carrying their rifles over their left shoulders, ammunition boxes at their hips. On parade, they were perfectly synchronized, not a foot or high-swung arm out of time. The crowds of spectators who saluted them as they passed manifested an approval indicating no religious or racial distinction, an

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[42] ibid, p135.

[43] Le Matin, 25 August 1936, p1; Paris-Soir, 26 August 1936, p10.

[44] Illustrated London News, 7 November 1936, p811.

[45] Le Matin, 23 November 1936, p8.

[46] Le Matin, 26 August 1936, p8.

approval mirrored in the caption's bald statement of fact: "Dans les rues de Burgos: La légion marocaine défile dans les rues de la ville avant de se rendre dans la Sierra de Guadarrama." Approval of this sort was of some propagandist value given the unease with which much of Spain watched the Moors return to their shores.

The pro-Insurgent press of both Britain and France went to some lengths to demonstrate the essential benevolence of these African troops, perhaps in response to increasing rumours of Moorish atrocities in Badajoz and elsewhere.[47] Thus from the first week of the war, the controversial presence of Moorish soldiers on Spanish soil was mitigated in the pro-Insurgent press of both nations with images of Moors guarding the road to the Rock of Gibraltar,[48] fraternizing with civilian children,[49] offering advice to young Carlist soldiers,[50] (Fig.17) and even, as Match was to show in 1938, forming Franco's personal bodyguard.[51] Common to all these images was the attempt to normalise relations between Spaniards and Moors and to represent the presence in Spain of the country's former invaders as positively beneficial. It was essentially this which seemed to underlie the Illustrated London News' August feature[52] titled: "First War Pictures from Spanish Morocco: A motorists' adventures," describing the journey by car of a Mr Karl Clopet and his son from Casablanca to Tangier. The accompanying photographs showed the two travellers posing with groups of Moorish soldiers, the form of the images themselves - tourist snaps portraying such fraternization as natural and the Moors as friendly natives - arguing the benevolence of the Moorish people and dismissing as irrational fears about their activities in Spain.

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[47] Herbert Southworth for example reports an incident of Moors being promised white women when they arrived in Madrid, and records an account of two women being raped by Moors in: Le Mythe de la croisade de Franco, p189. Such reports are, however, easily matched by instances of atrocities committed by the Spanish Insurgents, recounted by Hugh Thomas in The Spanish Civil War, pp258-68; and by the parties of the left, pp268-279.

[48] Daily Mail, 23 July 1936, p20; Illustrated London News, 1 August 1936, p188; Le Matin, 24 July 1936, p8; L'Illustration, 1 August 1936, p405.

[49] Paris-Soir, 18 August 1936, p10; 29 August 1936, p12.

[50] Le Matin, 27 November 1936, p1.

[51] Match, 14 July 1938, p19.

[52] Illustrated London News, 8 August 1936, p237.

The pro-Insurgent press also attempted to persuade public opinion as to the benevolence of the Moorish character by reviving European myths of eastern exoticism. Thus on 6 September Le Matin printed a photograph of the Sultan of Morocco taken in two-thirds profile, the highlighted eyes and hazy focus of Western photo-portraiture europeanizing him despite his "strange" clothing and traditional fez. His aristocratic countenance - his aquiline nose, fine moustache and tragic eyes - corresponded to familiar, romantic, Western myths of the orient, minimizing European fears of the arab unknown. The Sultan's accompanying statement was reproduced by Le Matin without comment. Not only did it condemn the generals' coup in Spain and Moorish participation in the hostilities, it also contradicted the paper's unflagging support for the Franquist cause. Yet his comments could be published perhaps because, as a Moor, his views simply did not count, or perhaps because they conferred authority on the paper's position by indicating its willingness to countenance opposing opinions; the image of the Moors as conveyed by the photograph would serve Insurgent interests regardless.

But the pro-Insurgent press went beyond merely praising Moorish discipline and benevolence, and attempted to promote these Muslim soldiers as natural participants in the Christian crusade. On 5 September L'Illustration[53] for instance depicted three young Moors dressed in traditional attire - baggy pleated trousers, leggings, fezes and belts thick with ammunition pouches - holding their rifles in such a way as to emphasize their muscular forearms. One of the three smoked a long pipe while the two others, bristling with badges, stood to attention for the camera. The full import of the image, accompanied as it is by two others marking the celebrations in Seville for the *Vierge des Rois*, is made apparent in the caption which highlights the participation of the Moorish soldiers in the festivities: "Les 'regulares' marocains portent presque tous des images du Sacré-Coeur épinglées sur la poitrine." The magazine was arguing that despite their obvious differences in dress, the Moors shared the aims of the Christian crusade, their participation in the religious festivities, and indeed in the fighting, testifying to their sympathies. In this way the pro-Insurgent press attempted to justify the incorporation of Moors in the holy crusade.

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[53] L'Illustration, 5 September 1936, p24.

Despite this insistence on Moorish discipline, benevolence and compatibility with the crusade, there remained in both the French and British press sympathetic to the Insurgent cause a certain malaise with regard to the Moorish troops. This was voiced most clearly by the Illustrated London News which characterised their engagement as "a terrifying responsibility,"[54] language which masked a latent racism. Such ambivalence was visible to varying extents in all the pro-Insurgent representations of Moorish troops, yet is not necessarily inconsistent with the Insurgent ideology. As Pierre Machery writes:

> ...ideology is essentially contradictory, riddled with all sorts of conflicts which it attempts to conceal. All kinds of devices are constructed in order to conceal these contradictions; but by concealing them, they somehow reveal them.[55]

Thus while the pro-Insurgent press attempted to conceal the contradiction inherent in the use of Muslim troops to fight a Christian crusade, parallel to this ran a counter-impulse which aimed, if for reasons far from idealistic, actively to alter public perception of the Moors, to seize on the racist elements in the French and British *mentalité* and attempt to disprove them, as occurred for example in images asserting Moorish benevolence.

Published just two weeks after Mr Clopet's holiday pictures, the Illustrated London News' feature titled: "A 'TERRIFYING RESPONSIBILITY': MOROCCAN TROOPS WITH THE REBELS"[56] (Fig.18) revealed the "contradictions it attempted to conceal" with some clarity. The three photographs it reproduced displayed a progressive anxiety in their representation of the Moors. The first, enlarged to two-thirds of the page, showed three columns of Moroccan soldiers marching in exotic turbans through the tree-lined, crowd-thronged streets of Burgos, rifles well in evidence, on parade under the auspicious gaze of General Cabanellas before moving up to the Guadarrama sector. The impression of soldierly discipline gave way in the second image, trimmed into an oval shape, to a focus on Moorish exoticism. The "otherness" of the Moors was reinforced by their unusual dress, fezes and turbans again proliferating as four of them stood chatting in a circle,

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[54] Illustrated London News, 29 August 1936, p345.

[55] Machery, Pierre, in "An Interview with Pierre Machery" in Mercer, Colin and Jean Radford (eds): Red Letters, Summer 1975, p5, quoted in Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation, p161.

[56] Illustrated London News, 29 August 1936, p345.

isolated from the Spanish regulars by language as well as culture; the caption described them as "Types of Moroccans," emphasizing their alienness. The third photograph was a simple study of four Moorish soldiers wearing flowing trousers and multiple munition pouches. It was accompanied by a caption this time unmistakably critical: "Moroccan troops on parade in Burgos: well-trained and well-equipped soldiers pitted against the people of Spain in ruthless warfare," the rifles and ammunition pouches present in each photograph now invested with a new significance.[57] The text accompanying these images, its opinions falling so clearly into two parts, neatly encapsulates the internal divisions of the pro-Insurgent press over the Moorish issue:

> The superior training and equipment of the Moroccans gave them a special advantage over the Government militia. They were of special advantage in the attack on Badajoz...It was reported that the atrocities committed by certain of these native levies were so dreadful that they frightened the rebels themselves, who were seriously alarmed that the troops might escape from their control. The most moderate of commentators described the rebels' actions in using Moroccans to fight against the Spanish as a "terrifying responsibility"...It did much to alienate sympathy in foreign countries.[58]

It took little imaginative effort for the image of the Moors as strange and exotic to shade over towards the alien, the barbaric and inferior. Although no publication voiced such racist attitudes explicitly, it is clear that such prejudices underpinned the pro-Insurgent conception of the Moors in a range of photographs beginning with the oddness of Moorish dress,[59] moving through suggestions of barbarity in images juxtaposing the Moors with

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[57] Herbert Southworth for one found the Insurgents' employment of Moorish mercenaries in a war against their own people deeply repugnant. "On peut formuler une règle morale à l'encontre de l'emploi de troupes mercenaires dans quelque guerre qu'il soit, mais dans la guerre européenne les anglais et les français utilisèrent les soldats coloniaux contre les étrangers, leurs ennemis, non pas contre leur propre peuple. Les femmes violés par les Maures étaient des femmes espagnoles; les maisons dévastées par les Maures de Franco étaient des maisons espagnoles..." See Le Mythe de la croisade de Franco, p188.

[58] Reports alleging the savagery of the Moorish troops must be considered racist if not seen in the context of the widespread brutality which characterised the civil war as a whole. In The Spanish Civil War (pp258-79) Hugh Thomas provides some sense of the terror which reigned from the start of the hostilities; the Moors' role in these atrocities was minor. Insurgent sensitivity to foreign opinion is also evident in the attempts of the Insurgent forces to block or censor news reports. (See Southworth, Herbert: Guernica! Guernica!, especially his chapter on the "Working Conditions of the Foreign Press in the Nationalist Zone.")

[59] Illustrated London News, 14 November 1936, p856; L'Illustration, 7 November 1936, p289.

dead horses in Oviedo, for example,[60] to a whole series of photographs in which they were almost always segregated from the company of ordinary Spanish soldiers.[61] There is, furthermore, some photographic evidence to suggest that even within the Insurgent ranks the Moors received inferior treatment. Two Insurgent despatch riders were depicted in separate images printed on the same page in the Illustrated London News,[62] the Moorish soldier mounted on horseback while the Spanish soldier was trusted with "an English motorcycle." Printed without comment, the suspicion of racism hovered nevertheless about the edges of these photographs.

The most extreme manifestation of racism with regard to the Moors was expressed in images concerned with their death in the course of battle. Considered fully expendable in war, the Moors were accorded none of the pathos, none of the heroic accolades of the fallen Spanish.[63] In a photograph taken by the publication's special correspondent J. Clair-Guyot, for example, L'Illustration[64] depicted an armoured car, its doors hanging open after an ambush on an unsealed country road, the body of a man draped over the roof by the gun turret. The man's face is not visible under his helmet; presumably he was shot dead in action. Unceremoniously, the caption declared that this was "Le cadavre d'un Marocain ramené sur une auto blindée," photographed "aux portes de Madrid." Quite apart from the publication's dismissive treatment of the Moor, comparison with an archival print[65] reveals that not just one body lies across the tank, but two, the print showing a pair of feet visible beneath the body of the first man. The Moorish troops, having fulfilled their military function, were clearly of no further value; the attention of L'Illustration's editor in viewing this photograph for publication was so cursory where the Moors were concerned that he failed even to notice the second body. It is difficult to

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[60] Illustrated London News, 31 October 1936, p772.

[61] See for example Le Matin, 5 November 1936, p10.

[62] Illustrated London News, 14 November 1936, p856.

[63] This observation pertains more to the pro-Insurgent French than British press, given the British reluctance to portray death in any but the most ritualized form. See Chapter 4, Part A: The Dead and the Injured.

[64] L'Illustration, 12 December 1936, p471.

[65] This print is held at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Salle des Estampes, Boîte Cercueil 1900-80, Qc. Mat 2a.

imagine a photograph of the Spanish Insurgent dead being treated so perfunctorily. Fit to be crusaders, the Moors were evidently not eligible for martyrdom.

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The British and French publications hostile to the Insurgent cause articulated their disparagement in almost identical terms, terms which attempted to undermine the most vital aspects of Insurgent self-definition. Thus Nationalist courage, discipline, efficiency and benevolence were equally called into question. The British pro-Republican press - chiefly Reynolds' News, the Daily Herald and the Daily Worker - asserted Insurgent belligerence while the hostile press of both nations strove to discredit the notion of the holy crusade in the context of Spain. Its hypocrisy, as made evident in the engagement of Muslim mercenaries, was reinforced in the British press in allegations of the Moors' barbaric, alien and primitive nature, while both the British and French characterised the Moors as pawns of either Franco or Hitler.

Insurgent courage was disputed in a number of images appearing in the pro-Republican press of both nations. Vu[66] countered Insurgent claims to heroism on behalf of the survivors of the Alcazar siege with photographs of the dead body of a cadet, the emaciated faces of wounded survivors, and pictures of the fortress itself in ruins, its gardens planted with crosses. These photographs, arguing the Alcazar's survivors had merely endured the siege, considerably dampen the victory. They also counter not only Insurgent mythologizing but even the sensationalist elements in Vu's own article which describes the "cadets" (sic) as having "soutenu victorieusement le siège le plus infernal, le plus cruel..."[67]

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[66] Vu, 7 October 1936, pp1175-6.

[67] Both Herbert Southworth in Le Mythe de la croisade de Franco (p53) and Hugh Thomas in The Spanish Civil War (p246) maintain that since it was the summer holiday period when the siege began, only a handful of cadets were actually present in the fortress academy - six according to Southworth, seven according to Thomas.

Assertions of Insurgent discipline were undermined in photographs like that printed in Regards[68] on 27 August, in which a company of Nationalist soldiers was depicted marching into the town of Oyzarzun in a straggling procession, their customary uniform lines nowhere in evidence. The few townspeople who had emerged from their houses into the grey day displayed little enthusiasm for the soldiers marching through - no flag-waving, salutes or cheers greeted their arrival, suggesting their popularity, as well as their discipline, might be but a myth.[69] Insurgent efficiency in combat was vividly challenged by a number of photographs of Insurgent prisoners and deserters,[70] one of the most effective appearing in the Daily Herald[71] in its 22 September issue. In this photograph three young men wearing broad smiles with their civilian clothes walked towards the camera down a village street. Accompanying them were three Republican officers, one at least carrying a gun, while another wheeled a bicycle, reminiscent of peacetime liberty. The men in civilian dress had deserted the Insurgent ranks; more than this, however, the caption implied they had been fighting against their will: "The rebel deserters' smiles displayed their joy that they were no longer to fight against their brothers." As such, this image effectively negated Insurgent professions of the courage, discipline and commitment of their forces.

Insurgent claims to benevolence, as maintained in the sympathetic press, were repudiated in the pro-Republican publications with photographs of Insurgent soldiers forcing civilians to surrender at gun-point,[72] laughing over the dead body of a Republican soldier,[73] or searching the pockets of a militiaman freshly killed;[74] no image however was quite so

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[68] Regards, 27 August 1936, p4.

[69] A photograph printed in the Daily Herald (15 September 1936, p16) depicting Nationalist soldiers entering a deserted San Sebastien similarly undermined Insurgent assertions of popularity.

[70] Of the French pro-Republican press, Regards in particular asserted the cowardice and incompetence of the Insurgent troops, almost half its images of them representing them as prisoners or deserters. See for example Regards, 6 August 1936, p13.

[71] Daily Herald, 22 September 1936, p10.

[72] Vu, 19 August 1936, p962.

[73] Vu, 16 September, 1936, p1077.

[74] Reynolds' News, 15 November 1936, p1.

graphically effective as that which appeared in the Daily Herald[75] on 25 July (Fig.19), attributed by the No Pasaran! exhibition catalogue to the Spanish press photographer Agustí Centelles.[76] In it three soldiers - identified as Insurgents by the caption - were depicted using the carcasses of dead horses as a barricade. The soldiers directed their bayonetted rifles over the horses' bulk towards enemies out of frame, the details of their clothing and weapons contrasting sharply with the solid mass of the dead animals. In its reiteration of details portrayed with unambiguous realism in the photograph, the caption implies its aversion: "Rebel soldiers using their dead horse as a barricade when firing on loyal troops in the streets of Madrid." Such behaviour seems scarcely compatible for instance with images of Insurgent soldiers feeding orphaned children.

Where the British pro-Republican press differed from the French was in its insistence on Insurgent responsibility for beginning the conflict. In the issue of the Daily Herald[77] which announced the outbreak of hostilities, two photographs provided the pretext for assertions of Insurgent belligerency. The first depicted a company of soldiers marching in formation, all dressed in full uniform with bayonets slung over their shoulders, a flag fluttering overhead. Headed: "Troops who started the trouble," its caption laid unequivocal blame at Insurgent feet: "Spanish Legionaries who, with native troops, started the revolt in Spanish Morocco." The second image - a portrait of General Franco - appeared on the following page with a short article titled "Plot Hatched at 4 am Conference." It recounted the details of a clandestine meeting at the home of "fascist leader" Señor Gil Robles, in which four generals allegedly planned the uprising. The entire account was supposedly authenticated by its provenance from the "British United Press as from reliable sources."

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[75] Daily Herald, 25 July 1936, p16. The same image appeared in Regards on 30 July, p6, and in the Illustrated London News, 1 August 1936, p182. A number of discrepancies emerge in comparison, Regards identifying the men as *gardes d'assaut* in Barcelona where the British papers agreed they were rebels in Madrid.

[76] No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War, p53. The caption to *this* reproduction describes the men as assault guards firing at *Insurgents*. Born in Valencia in 1909, Centelles worked as a press photographer in Barcelona before the outbreak of hostilities, recording Republican activities in and around the city during the early part of the war. The No Pasaran! exhibition catalogue (pp48,65) gives further biographical details and examples of his work.

[77] Daily Herald, 20 July 1936, pp1-2.

The allegations of Insurgent belligerency carried some propagandist weight, as indeed Raymond Carr has argued; if the Republic were to succeed in courting sympathy among the European democracies, it had to present itself as the "elected legal government of Spain attacked by fascist rebels."[78] Its case would be strengthened if it could prove those rebels had acted "secure in a previous promise of German and Italian aid in the form of arms, particularly aeroplanes," and that such aid was part of a "Nazi conspiracy".[79] Photographs like that reproduced in Regards[80] on 20 August attempted to do just this, eighteen uniformed Insurgents raising their right arms in the fascist salute, most of them smiling as they did so, presented in evidence of Nazi affinity. The caption underscored this link: "Les rebelles espagnols, les troupes fascistes de Franco, ont adopté le salut hitlérien."[81]

Republican counterpropaganda adopted as a necessary target the Insurgent construct of the Christian crusade, a photograph published in Reynolds' News[82] on 4 October alleging its fundamental hypocrisy. (Fig.20). In it a priest, who had donned a military helmet with his robes of office, heard the confession of a Republican prisoner standing in what appeared to be a park or wood. Behind them a second prisoner awaited his turn, his wrists bound. The caption terms the image: "A Grim Sidelight on Spain's Civil War: A priest wearing the steel helmet of the rebels hears the last prayers of a loyalist before his execution. His companion in death, also handcuffed, is immediately behind him. They were called 'spies'." The caption incontrovertibly links church and army by arguing the church's complicity in military executions of men whose guilt was not beyond question.

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[78] Carr, Raymond: The Spanish Tragedy, p110.

[79] Ibid, p135.

[80] Regards, 20 August 1936, p3.

[81] Links between the Insurgent forces and the fascist states of Europe were also drawn in photographs depicting Insurgent soldiers posing with weapons of German or Italian manufacture. See Daily Worker, 5 September 1936, p4; Regards, 20 August 1936, p3.

[82] Reynolds' News, 4 October 1936, p4.

As such, it highlights the double standards of a church whose participation in war seems hardly consistent with Christian values of mercy, or indeed of peace.[83]

Of still greater value to Republican counterpropaganda was Insurgent ambivalence concerning the issue of the Moors, the pro-Republican press exploiting the racist attitudes which underpinned public opinion in both countries. While the British pro-Republican press asserted the primitive, alien and barbaric nature of the Moorish troops,[84] the French pro-Republican press in particular portrayed them as the dupes of Hitler and Franco.[85] On 6 August Regards printed a montage which illustrated this belief most dramatically, although it was also maintained photographically in more conventional representations.[86] Regards' image consisted of a fully-equipped company of Moorish troops marching over the parched earth under the superimposed shadow of a giant swastika. Published without a caption, the meaning is unambiguous, the shadow of Hitler's fascism encroaching over Spain as the Moorish troops marched forward in fulfilment of Nazi goals. Opposite the swastika montage, a second photograph[87] appeared in ironic denunciation of these aims, showing four columns of Moorish soldiers marching in exotic military attire towards the camera. The caption merged Franco's plans with those of the Nazis, simultaneously

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[83] It is precisely such hypocrisy which prompted Herbert Southworth to write with such acrimony: "Calmer les passions sauvages et apporter la paix sur la terre, telles sont après tout des fonctions de l'Église du Christ. Mais l'église ne trouva pas de charité chrétienne pour intervenir en faveur d'un seul républicain espagnol...L'église, mise à l'épreuve, ne pourra pas pardonner à ceux qui avaient péché contre l'église..." See Le Mythe de la croisade de Franco, p289.

[84] See for example the Daily Herald's photograph of a Moor stealing a sheep (10 November 1936, p20); and its image titled :"MERCILESS" showing Four Moroccan troops in traditional dress (26 August 1936, p16). It was accompanied by an article characterising the Moors as "ruthless mercenaries, who care nothing for Spain, but ask only to be unleashed on the Spanish people..."

[85] The notion that the Moors were tricked by the Insurgent generals into taking part in a war which didn't concern them is explored by the Russian journalist Ilya Ehrenbourg in Regards (29 October 1936, p15). Although Ehrenbourg's evocation of the Moors as gullible and misguided can be considered another side of the same racist coin, his recounting of one Moorish soldier's experiences constitutes one of the few attempts to understand the Moroccan point of view. ("Au Maroc, on nous a promis 3 pesetas par jour. Nous sommes pauvres. On nous a dit que nous irons a Séville pour une grande revue. Je ne sais pas qui combat contre nous. On m'a dit de tirer, j'ai tiré.") Such was the fate of young Mohamed ben Amed, whose "yeux d'orient, tendres, cruels et mystérieux" inspired Ehrenbourg to such eloquent heights.

[86] See for example the Daily Herald, (26 November 1936, p16) which described the Moors as cannon-fodder furthering the aims of Franco; and Regards (20 August 1936, p3) which described the Moors as men armed by Hitler against the Spanish people.

[87] Regards, 6 August 1936, p13.

linking the two photographs: "Leur rêve: voir les Régulares du Riff, après un défilé triomphal, installer dans Madrid un gouvernement national, naziste...et raciste."

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Comparison between the French and British press sympathetic to the Insurgent cause reveals a high degree of consensus in definition of the Nationalist soldier. The soldierly virtues of courage, discipline and efficiency - pillars of timeless soldier myths - proved equally potent propaganda devices on either side of the Channel. Benevolence and popularity among the people of Spain were also added to this constellation, carrying a positive persuasive charge in both Britain and France. That the pro-Insurgent press strove to represent these same qualities as characteristic of the Moorish soldiers is a measure of the power of these concepts, and a sign of their deep-rootedness in the culture of both nations. Asserted in individual photographs as inherent qualities of the Insurgent fighting man, the characteristics of courage, discipline, efficiency, popularity and benevolence were most effectively played out in more complex scenarios such as the relief of the Toledo Alcazar, itself transformed into myth, and the elaboration of the holy crusade. Although differences of emphasis obtained in the French and British press - the French for example harking back to monarchist tradition in order to evoke the timeless values of the Insurgent cause - on the whole pro-Insurgent representations proved largely homogenous in both nations.

The notion of the crusade was a stroke of genius for the pro-Insurgent press, since it was the only configuration which could neatly subsume the major contradictions of the Insurgent cause. The Nationalist position relied heavily on the cooperation of the church in justification of a war whose goals were manifestly political, and only secondarily religious. Martyrdom, stoicism and the appeal of tradition were all invoked to bolster the crusader-myth whose supreme advantage was the iconography it bestowed, vibrant and ready-made for public consumption. This was a myth which transformed the Toledo Alcazar into a fortress seized from the infidel, wartime event transformed into a publicity stunt with Franco in the title role. It was a myth furthermore invested with powerful and

persuasive resonance, tapping directly into cultural attitudes already well-established in the *mentalité* of Britain and France.

It is a sign of the resistance of ideology to conflict and its ability to incorporate contradiction that the presence of Muslim Moors could not topple the crusader ediface in either nation; it held strong even despite the undercurrents of racism within the Insurgents' own ranks which revealed the cracks in its construction. The pro-Insurgent press attempted nevertheless to patch over the anomoly of Muslim soldiers participating in a Christian crusade, and the anomoly too of reimporting the country's former invaders to participate in a civil war, by applying the myth of the ideal soldier to the North African troops. Thus the Moors were alternately europeanized as soldiers and romanticised as orientals, their exoticism either celebrated or disguised according to prejudice, or popular myth.

The pro-Republican press for its part tackled Insurgent self-definitions within quite limited bounds. Thus the French and British pro-Republican press disputed Insurgent courage, discipline, benevolence and popularity in photographs of hollow victories in empty towns and of deserters cheerfully going over to the Republican side. More complex politically, but less effective as visual propaganda, Nationalist aggression in provoking civil war was asserted by the British opposition press in photographs of "troops who started the trouble", while the French "proved" Insurgent affinity with fascism in images of Nationalist soldiers giving the Nazi salute. More usually the pro-Republican press responded to Insurgent propaganda on its own terms, denouncing the holy crusade as hypocritical and the Moors as Nazi dupes; they rarely introduced any more effective counterpropaganda of their own. These limitations strongly suggest that the terms in which propaganda is cast are circumscribed by cultural considerations - by the *mentalité* of the society in which those images take effect.

The French and British press displayed greater conformity in their portrayal of the Insurgent troops than they did representing the militiamen. Insurgent propagandists in both countries were able to draw upon a similar iconographical store in their representation of the Nationalist soldiers, the religious crusade proving equally potent in both Britain and

France. Similarly myths of the virtuous soldier, current and still meaningful in both nations, were also exploited by the politically-motivated press and gave rise to images of striking similarity in both countries. Lacking a "universal mythology" as evocative as that of the holy war, the *pro-Republican* press in each nation, in contrast, was obliged to turn to other sources in a quest for persuasive imagery. They thus linked their images of Republican fighting men with culturally-specific issues of particular resonance within their own societies; these representations, whether based upon myth or upon current preoccupations, can thus be seen as articulating those concepts of greatest relevance to the popular imagination of their time. What all these photographs, regardless of political sympathy, ultimately represent in fact bears limited relation to the experience of soldiering in Spain; they describe more closely an abstract war borne of cultural preconceptions and prevalent myths about the ideal soldier and the just battle held by people who had never even set foot on Spanish soil.

CHAPTER 2: PROPAGANDA AND MYTH - THE COMBATTANTS
PART C: WOMEN AT ARMS (THE FETISHISTIC GAZE)

In declaring that "the scandal of women at arms is a scandal of representation,"[1] David Mellor was only partially correct in his consideration of the women who took up arms in the civil war. The newsreels and photographs to which Mellor referred were not scandalous in the same way that for example Manet's painting Déjeuner sur l'herbe indisputably was, the image shocking as much for its aesthetics as for the social attitudes it challenged. Photographs of women at arms caused affront for the divergence they showed from the norms of social behaviour accepted within the countries that consumed those images, not for any radical technique present in the form of the image itself. The scandal then resided not within the image, but within the image's fraught relationship with the reality beyond it; its effect was determined by the brace of preconceptions current within the society to which it was directed.

It is important to recognise, furthermore, that the "scandal of women at arms" was a "scandal" only in Britain - and indeed only in the British pro-Insurgent press. In France, unlike Britain and Spain, women had still not achieved the basic measure of equality enshrined in the franchise, yet there the pro-Insurgent press could print the same or similar photographs of Republican militiawomen uncommented, as illustrations of fact rather than as ideological detonators. In Spain itself such an eventuality was hardly the stuff of scandal, however much the church or the Nationalist generals might have deplored female involvement in this most masculine of domains. French, and indeed Spanish, acceptance of female participation in the fighting may have derived from an awareness of the active role played by women in the recent revolutionary past of each nation, the French *pétroleuses* already a part of the mythology of the Commune, while Goya was able to record in his etchings, Los Desastros de la Guera,[2] the activities of fighting women in the

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[1] Mellor, David: "Death in the Making: Representing the Spanish Civil War," in No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War, p30.

[2] See the Illustrated London News, 29 August 1936, p349, which reproduced seven of these etchings in explicit comparison with the events of 1936 in Spain.

1808-13 insurrections without being accused of scandal-mongering. Only Britain could be seen to have preserved intact a pre-war morality which infused its 1930s *mentalité* with archaic notions of women's place, notions which strove to ignore the tremendous upheavals the First World War had wrought in social life and gender roles. Thus the French press (of Republican sympathies) proved more imaginative by far than its British equivalents in portraying a positive impression of women at arms, while it was the British press (sympathetic to the Insurgents) that mounted the most virulent campaign against female involvement in combat.[3] The French pro-Insurgent press' virtual silence on this score, while perhaps not signalling approval, is nonetheless indicative of a *mentalité* which recognised female involvement in warfare as the continuation of a tradition rather than the break-down of social order. The very tone of the debate indicates the implicit importance of the place of women in the ideological aspirations of each side, even if the aspirations of the women themselves were scarcely taken ito account.

Acceptance of female participation in warfare in the pro-Republican press was largely dependent upon the extent to which women at arms could be shown to be sharing the constellation of soldierly qualities attributed to their male counterparts. That these qualities were themselves the relics of heroic, and largely archaic, soldier myths mattered little; courage, discipline and selflessness were deemed the hallmarks of the Republican militiawoman just as they were of the militiaman in sympathetic British representations. These characteristics also defined Republican women at arms for the sympathetic French press; and in both countries were added images suggesting these women's new-found equality with the militiamen. The French pro-Republican press, however, went further than the British in exploring the role of militiawomen at war. It *celebrated* the militiawomen's femininity rather than attempting to disguise it as did the British press; it singled out individual fighting women for special attention in a way that was never undertaken for ordinary militiamen; it expressed interest in women's transition into militiamembers; and

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[3] This British reticence in portraying women actively engaged in a traditionally male pursuit may have been in part a result of the paradox Eric Hobsbawm perceives in the British labour movement, which encouraged an ideology of equality and emancipation while discouraging actual joint participation in the workforce for fear of female economic competition and a relaxation of morality. See Hobsbawm, Eric: "Man and Woman in Socialist Iconography", p132. This paradox may also have existed in France, but was less apparent perhaps owing to the relative weakness of the trade union movement there.

most importantly, it used the presence of women at arms - the extremely young as much as the most mature - in the service of ideology as a means by which to legitimise the broader Republican movement.

The British pro-Insurgent press, led by the Daily Mail, went to extraordinary lengths to counteract the positive pro-Republican representation of militiawomen. Female discipline was deemed questionable, and even the French pro-Insurgent press cast doubt upon their alleged courage, in one of the few images in which they dealt with the subject at all. For the most part, pro-Insurgent counter-propaganda came from the British side and centred its attack on the militiawomen's sexuality. Depraved and bloodlusting, these women shunned all traces femininity. Their representation was laden with innuendo implying the looseness of their morals and the laxity of their faith, while the hardship and injuries which inevitably befell all frontline combattants were seen as just retribution for the female soldiers' most unwomanly behaviour.[4]

The exemplary deportment of Nationalist women in uniform was posited by the pro-Insurgent press as a measure of the divergence of Republican women from behavioural conventions. Almost no Insurgent women were photographed having taken up arms, suggesting that very few had enlisted in the role of combattants; any who had kept well clear of photographers. Those who did join the ranks, albeit in an auxiliary capacity, were portrayed as paragons of female virtue, disciplined, dignified, and modestly carrying out only the most acceptable feminine tasks in their fetching uniforms.

Common to each representation is the notion of a presupposed male gaze constructing the female image according to male preconceptions or "phantasies", as Laura Mulvey asserts in her analysis of images of women in cinema.[5] Her Freudian approach identifies the

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[4] Although her findings are based on contemporary research, Gaye Tuchman writes that "When television women are involved in violence, unlike males, they are more likely to be victims than aggressors." (See: "The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media," in Cohen, Stanley and Jock Young (eds): The Manufacture of News, p173). The extent to which armed militiawomen in Spain flouted representational as much as social convention may explain in part the hostility they aroused in the conservative British press.

[5] Griselda Pollock similarly discusses the representation of women in visual imagery, and especially in advertising, in "What's Wrong with Images of Women?" and in "Missing Women: Rethinking Early Thoughts on Images of Women." Helen Butcher et al discuss "Images of Women in the Media" in Cohen,

woman in such representations as an icon and a fetish, the predominant scopophiliac subject. After Freud, Mulvey defines scopophilia as the "taking of other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze."[6] She goes on to describe the evolution of this pleasure of looking into its active/male and passive/female divisions, and traces how

> The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness. Woman displayed as sexual object is the leit-motif of erotic spectacle: from pin-ups to strip-tease...she holds the look, plays to and signifies male desire.[7]

Although these photographs of Spanish women at war cannot be said to constitute an "erotic spectacle", still the concept is not entirely alien to these images. In both the pro-Republican and pro-Insurgent press of Britain and France, women at arms were depicted in ways which corresponded to generalised male expectations; their subjects are "arranged", and displayed photographically, in a fashion pleasing to a masculine eye. The following discussion seeks to detail the myths which helped determine such female representations and to show how those myths governed and reinforced particular cultural preconceptions about the role of women in war, and indeed about women per se.

Finally it must be remembered that the image of Republican women at the front was above all a propagandist image which persisted long after actual participation in the fighting had ceased. The period of participation was in fact short-lived, ending around March 1937 when, after the battle of Guadalajara, women were requested to leave the front lines. Justina Palma, a nurse and member of the socialist youth organisation Juventudes Socialistias Unificadas, recalled the female communist orator la Pasionaria's journeys to the front "to tell the women that their place was in the rearguard where they

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Stanley and Jock Young (eds): The Manufacture of News, pp317-25.

[6] Mulvey, Laura: "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," p9.

[7] Ibid, p11.

would be of more use to the war effort. Lorries were drawn up to take the women back..."[8] Female participation was seen more as an emergency measure, their 1937 recall to the home front a sign that, even for the Republicans, established female tasks and roles would ultimately prevail.[9]

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If one image can be said to characterize the pro-Republican press' conception of the militiawoman, it can only be that which appeared in the Daily Herald on 17 October.[10] (Fig.21) Its title providing an epithet, the image itself an archetype, and the text a store of concepts elaborated upon by almost all the other representations of women at arms, this item provided female participation with the legitimacy of a classical-mythological precedent. Headed: "The Spanish Amazon" in reference to the community of warrior women "living somewhere on the border of the civilized world"[11] according to the ancient Greeks, the photograph depicted a young militia woman in uniform, rifle strap across her chest, weapon slung across her body, her arms raised high in one of the gestures of Spanish dance. It was captioned: "Camila, dancing in her uniform cap before the posada." The image's particular resonance derives in part from its sexual ambiguity, the militiawoman's attire intended to disguise her femininity yet ultimately emphasizing it still further. Her rifle and cap - emblems of the soldier - contrasted with her dancer's pose while the gaze of her male comrades standing in the background hinted at a scopophiliac voyeurism which only served to highlight her sexual difference.

In her introduction to Images of Women in Peace and War, Sharon Macdonald recognises the power of ritual in the expression of gender difference: "...even where women are supposed to be participating on equal terms with men, gender is an issue, though this is

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[8] Cited in Fraser, Ronald: Blood of Spain, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979, p286.

[9] This is argued by Frances Lannon in a paper titled: Images of Women in the Spanish Civil War, presented to the Royal Historical Society, London, 12 October 1990.

[10] Daily Herald, 17 October 1936, p16.

[11] Kirk, Ilse, "Images of Amazons: Marriage and Matriarchy," in Macdonald, Sharon, Pat Holden and Shirley Ardener (eds): Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives, Macmillan, London, 1987, p28.

often demonstrated at the level of symbol and ritual rather than spoken statements."[12] Thus the militiawoman's dance with its clearly delineated steps for women and men could be construed as a symbolic or ritualised demonstration of her gender despite attempts, elsewhere in the sympathetic British press, to downplay the sexual issue - out of fear perhaps of adding to the pro-Nationalist press' propagandist arsenal. The French press, in contrast, took the opposite view, making a positive virtue of the militiawomen's femininity, as shall be shown below.

R.N. Currey's fictional account which accompanied the photograph of the dancing militiawoman matched the qualities of the mythical Amazon with the requirements of Republican propaganda, merging the characteristics of the Amazon with age-old soldierly virtues. As fighters, both the Amazons and the militiawoman - Camila in the story - were highly disciplined, for as Currey writes of his subject: "She had subjected herself so completely to a will other than her own that she seemed no longer to be her own mistress."[13] Her courage was emphasized in recurrent references to the strength and bravery of her Amazonian forebears, who "put aside all feminine feelings" and "cut off their right breasts in order to shoot better," as the commander accepting Camila's enlistment had carefully explained. Her selflessness - her idealism and her willingness to sacrifice her own feelings in deference to the cause - were amply illustrated in the story's climax, in which Camila was required to participate in the firing-squad which was to execute her own brother. "What feeling she had not voluntarily sacrificed had been squeezed out of her in those last hours. She stood aside and watched herself click over the catch of her rifle..."I am dreaming," she told herself..." Although as a member of the militia she expected to be treated no differently from her male comrades, and although female participation in the business of warfare was accepted as normal by the sympathetic press, yet her sexual difference from her fellow soldiers was still an issue, however understated. Her commander's description of the Amazons' self-mutilation was one indication of this. The militiawoman's discipline, courage, selflessness, and her veiled gender difference - all crucial to the Amazon story - thus reinvested the photograph with

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[12] Macdonald, Sharon, Pat Holden and Shirley Ardener (eds): Images of Women, p3.

[13] This and subsequent citations are from: Currey, R.N.: "The Spanish Amazon" in The Daily Herald, 17 October 1936, p16.

specific meanings and formed the cornerstones of pro-Republican representations of women at arms.

Both the French and British pro-Republican press portrayed the courage of the militiawomen, as exemplified by the "Spanish Amazon", as indisputable. The determination with which this was propounded suggests a certain need to justify the presence of female soldiers amongst the ranks of the militia by arguing that they were as capable of soldiering as the men. The sympathetic French press asserted their courage chiefly through its captions to photographs showing the militiawomen marching, or posing proudly for the camera, while it was the British press which demonstrated bravery by means of the action photograph.[14] Thus Regards,[15] on 30 July, printed a photograph of a small militia unit, six men led by a single woman in long skirts, marching through the suburban streets of an unidentified town. Like the militiamen, the woman carried a rifle as she strode confidently down the roadway under the gaze of a man and small boy watching from the security of their garden. It is the caption which draws attention to the importance of the woman's role, her own bravery accentuated by her leadership of courageous men: "Sous la conduite d'une militante communiste, les jeunes volontaires du Front Populaire, magnifiquement intrépides, s'élancent vers les Remblas (sic) à la poursuite des rebelles." Not content with mere defence, the militiawoman was shown to be equal if not superior to her male comrades, actively seeking combat in her pursuit of the enemy soldiers.

Reynolds' News[16] depicted the courage of Republican militiawomen by even more unconventional means. A photograph it printed on 26 July titled "Amazons in Thick of the Fight" (Fig.22) showed ten Spaniards on the rooftop of a tall appartment building aiming their rifles at the enemy below. Amongst the snipers kneeling behind the ramparts were two women wearing aprons over their summer dresses as if urgently called out to

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[14] The sympathetic French press employed the action photograph more frequently to demonstrate the bravery of militia*men*.

[15] Regards, 30 July 1936, p3.

[16] Reynolds' News, 26 July 1936, p20.

fight, their household tasks half-done. The items of washing flapping in the breeze over the balconies of the houses opposite served as a reminder of their usual responsibilities. The caption stresses the fact that the danger was shared alike by women and men: "On a roof in Madrid: A "Reynolds" picture brought by air to London last night showing young men and girls in action." The women's courage was taken for granted like that of the men.

The stores of self-discipline emphasized by the "Spanish Amazon" story were elevated by the pro-Republican press in both Britain and France into a defining characteristic of Spanish militiawomen, perhaps even more conscientiously than was done for the militiamen. The consistency with which this was argued in the French and British pro-Republican press may have derived from a perceived need to justify the women's presence amid the fighting men with the persuasive power of logic. Thus the Daily Worker[17] could print on its front page a photograph of six militiawomen wearing militiacaps with their irregular uniforms, being instructed in the operation of rifles. The willingness with which they submitted to militia regulations, their apparent eagerness to learn the techniques essential to good soldiering, and indeed their courage in engaging in the strenuous activities of the fighting men, bespoke a discipline matched only in the pages of Regards. On one of its covers, dated 27 August, Regards[18] reproduced an image in which three militiawomen, dressed indentically in militiacaps and uniforms, stood strictly to attention. With the camera positioned at knee height looking upwards in the convention of admiration - an attitude characteristic of Regards' entire representation of Republican women at war - the image suggests their readiness for mobilisation in its detail - the munition pouches, water pannikens, backpacks and indeed rifles distributed to each. The presence of overtly feminine attributes - the women's long hair, bare arms and curved figures - served to emphasize their self-discipline still further, in contrast to the harshness of military life implied in the coarse material of their uniforms, their heavy rifles, and the stiff leather straps which crossed their torsos.

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[17] Daily Worker, 17 August 1936, p1.

[18] Regards, 27 August 1936, p1.

The third characteristic the Republican militiawoman allegedly shared with both the ancient Amazons and her fellow militiamen was her unquestioning self-abnegation. The Daily Herald[19] demonstrated this in a front page photograph titled: "THIS IS WAR!", depicting two militiawomen keeping watch seated on a city footpath, their rifles across their knees. Behind them, more women and a few fighting men stretched out on bedrolls dragged into the street, resting while they could, and two more men stood on the right hand edge of the photograph, talking in the sun. The caption highlighted the dedication which accrued especially, but not exclusively, to the women. "This graphic picture, showing how Spanish women are sharing with the menfolk the defence of their homes and children against the rebels, was taken by a staff photographer of the Daily Herald in a Barcelona street..." The caption thus argues that it was not bloodlust that made these Catalan women take up arms; rather it was an instinct for the preservation of family and home from Insurgent destruction - selfless reasons all - which had forced them to leave their homes. Even the heading ("THIS IS WAR!") implies the legitimisation of extraordinary actions by extraordinary circumstances, arguing that if women were found defending the streets with rifles, this was justified by and indeed was the only response to a situation of dire need.

Regards' most powerful representation of female self-abnegation in time of war took a symbolic form. In a full-page photograph[20] reproduced on 20 August a militiawoman was depicted from below, placed on a metaphorical pedestal in the convention favoured by Regards' photographers. Wearing the masculine attire of overalls, militiacap and army belt, her pockets were stuffed with ammunition, exaggerating her female form. With cooking pan at her waist, ammunition pouch in place and rifle held high in her left hand, she was the archetypal, self-reliant fighting woman. She stood atop a mound of rubble mindless of discomfort underfoot, smiling into the distance with the sun on her forehead; the flag she held above her head was a wind-buffeted emblem of liberty. Suggestive of difficulty overcome, the jumbled stones underfoot could not weaken her resolve while her gaze, the sun and the fluttering flag symbolised her vision of an ideal world. The caption

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[19] Daily Herald, 28 August 1936, p1.

[20] Regards, 20 August 1936, p9.

concentrated on the circumstances preceding the moment of the image, detailing Insurgent duplicity and rewarding idealism with victory.

> Victoire! Cette milicienne salue ses camarades avec un drapeau rouge, pris à l'ennemie lorsqu'il attaqua la colonne Maganda. Les fascistes s'avancaient drapeaux rouges en tête et poigns levés, stratègeme qui ne leur réussit guère, puisqu'ils durent fuir laissant de nombreux morts sur le terrain.

The alleged equality of Spanish militiawomen with their male counterparts was often the subject of photographic comment in the pages of the sympathetic press. For the most part this was implicit in the the images themselves, but on occasions it was the subject of special attention, itself indicative of a certain interest in the subject in both France and Britain. Reynolds' News[21] for example published an image on 26 July in which a group of seven men and five women marched proudly together through the cobbled streets of the capital, carrying their rifles on their left shoulders in a display of discipline contrasting sharply with their mottled array of uniforms, or "multiforms", as George Orwell preferred. The caption corresponds to and extends the image in its emphasis on female equality: "Marching in step with their men through the streets of Madrid, armed women faced the danger of the battle lines to defend their homes and resist fascist oppression. A last night's picture that will become history."

Regards'[22] illustration of the equality supposedly assumed by the militiawomen upon entering the ranks was more revealing despite its unpretentious scale and form. While four militiamen lay wrapped in blankets trying to sleep on the bare ground, two wearing their militiacaps for warmth, a fifth figure swathed in a hooded overcoat stood guard nearby. Although cap and coat provide an effective disguise, the guard, according to the caption, is a woman. Ignoring the photographer, and determined to carry out her duties as well as any of her comrades, she stood with her thinly clad feet spaced firmly as she gazed into the distance across the photograph's frame, conscientiously keeping watch. A pile of stones beside the heads of the sleeping soldiers provided makeshift shelter from the wind,

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[21] Reynolds' News 26 July 1936, p20.

[22] Regards, 13 August 1936, p5.

while a single stoneware jug stood amidst the sleeping men. With women performing the same tasks as the men, however physically taxing, the caption argued that even at the front no distinction was made on the grounds of sex. "Sur le front de la Sierra, une milicienne prend comme ses camarades le tour de garde..." Equality then affected duty as much as status in the ranks. However commendable this impulse was in principle, its extent was perhaps less far-reaching than the Republicans themselves would have cared to admit. Regards' publication throughout September of images of militiawomen performing such traditionally female tasks as washing the militiamen's clothes,[23] preparing their meals,[24] and nursing children, rifle at the ready,[25] speaks more eloquently than any of the Republicans' own propaganda of the extent of these women's emancipation. Such images suggest that Republican women, far from gaining freedom, had merely assumed new burdens in addition to the old, and that their "new" tasks were cast in fact in largely stereotypical moulds.

The most conspicuous difference between the French and British pro-Republican representation of women at arms revolved about the issue of gender. As the "Spanish Amazon" feature revealed, the British press felt some ambivalence in this matter, tempted to stress gender difference the better to praise the women's valour, yet conscious of the need to downplay their femininity in order to argue their suitability for combat. For the French press there was no question of gender disguise. Militiawomen graced the covers of more than a third of the issues of Regards appearing between August and November,[26] foreshadowing the covergirl so essential to post-war magazine production, and influenced no doubt by the tradition of fashion photography of such importance in France. Indeed these images were chosen precisely *because* their subjects were women. Nor was it any accident that all were young and attractive, and that their rifles figured prominently, their femininity used deliberately in legitimation of the armed struggle. Regards'[27] issue for

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[23] Regards, 10 September 1936, p11.

[24] Regards, 24 September 1936, p4.

[25] Regards, 3 September 1936, p10.

[26] Regards, 13 August; 27 August; 8 October; 5 November 1936.

[27] Regards, 13 August 1936, p1.

13 August, for example, was sold with a cover depicting two militiawomen marching down a tramlined city street, the gaze of both directed obligingly towards the photographer. (Fig.23). The closer woman is the more prominent in the image, her face tilted almost coquettishly at the camera, her pose elegant and graceful. Her femininity, essential to the image's success as propaganda, is emphasized in its contrast to her masculine attire, the long sleeves of her military shirt rolled up to reveal her bare forearms, her collar open at her slender neck, her hair swept off her face to highlight her youthful skin. Her modest step in pale espadrilles and loose trousers contrasts with the long dark skirt and heavy shoes of the woman marching beyond her, caught unflatteringly in mid-stride. It is unmistakably, however, the presence of rifles which injects a certain power into the photograph. Far from suggesting that such women were too delicate to engage in combat, their rifles added grit to their idealism. The spectacle of young, attractive women prepared to take up arms in defence of their cause was recognised by the French as a powerful persuasive device, but it was one which the press in Britain chose not to explore.

Just as the notion of youth had been used by the pro-Republican press to stress the bravery and selflessness of the militia*men*, so the youth of the militiawomen was employed by the press in France as a stylistic device to legitimise the Republican cause. On a page headed: "La Guerre Civile en Espagne...Un Peuple en armes," Vu[28] printed an image credited to its photographer Georg Reisner depicting a girl little more than sixteen posing behind her rifle with a young militaman on a barricade of sandbags. (Fig.24) With the sun on her forehead and her ear-length hair held back with a headband, she looks distinctly girlish despite her uniform and firearm; she seems happy and relaxed beside her companion, scarcely older than she, whose expression in contrast is sober and tense. The caption treats the exigencies of war as a simple extension of their youthful, peacetime pursuits, portraying female participation as ordinary and natural. "On se promenait ensemble... on se battra côte à côte." At the same time the cause itself seems justified by the fact that a woman, in reality little more than a child, was moved to take up arms.

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[28] Vu, 29 July 1936, p879.

Nor were only the youngest women enlisted in this propaganda campaign. A Keystone photograph,[29] overlaid by the Reisner image on the same page, depicted a smiling militiawoman standing by the wheel of a truck looking directly at the camera. (See also Fig.24). Her face and neck are sun-weathered, her forehead deeply furrowed while her short fingernails implied a concern with practical matters and evoked a life of toil. Her arms under rolled-up sleeves, and indeed her entire posture suggest the strength of a twenty-year-old. A pistol is tucked into her belt and she rests her elbow on the barrel of an upended rifle, her smile expressing pride, satisfaction, confidence, and humour. A small dark stud in her ear was her only concession to feminine ornamentation. Behind her in the doorway of the truck, a young militiaman relaxes, a cigarette in his left hand while his right rests for balance on the wheel. His arm curves around, but doesn't touch, the militiawoman, his pose - almost protective - suggests the easy familiarity of comradeship in war. He looks obliquely at the camera over the woman's head, but it is her frank gaze which arrests the viewer, pleased to be participating in a cause in which she seemed fervently to believe. The caption acknowledges her capability as a fighter while her apparent confidence indicates her acceptance on equal terms with the men. "Le sourire satisfait d'une catalane, qui s'est bien battue." Together these two images of militiawomen confer an aura of legitimacy - the one through youth, the other through maturity - on the cause they felt compelled to assist.

What distinguished the pro-Republican French press' representation of women at arms not only from all other representations of women at war, but indeed from the depiction of the Republican soldiers as well, was their concern with the individual combattant. Where most militiamembers, except certain leaders like General Lister or the anarchist Durruti, remained in comparative if heroic anonymity, individual militiawomen were often singled out in photographs for particular praise and even identified by name.[30] While this might have derived from a certain sense of novelty regarding female skill on the battlefield, and could indeed be seen as patronising, the chief impression conveyed is one of admiration

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Paul Fussell, in his chapter: "The War in Black and White", observes in contrast the convention of anonymity which characterised the representation of soldiers in the Second World War, nameless faces supposedly more amenable to the evocation of myths about the collective struggle which the war was said to represent. (See The Boy Scout Handbook and Other Observations, p231.) Clearly women were not to be part of this myth, or rather, not on the same terms as men.

for their prowess. Thus a small photograph that appeared in Regards on 13 August captured two young militiawomen dressed in uniform ready to move up to the front. The woman on the right hand side of the picture had secured her long schoolgirl plaits under her militiacap and wore a leather jacket with her ammunition pouches, rifle and revolver, toughening the girlish image with the trappings of masculinity. Her comrade at arms stood on the photograph's left hand-side, wearing the more usual female militia dress of dark overalls and militiacap worn at an angle over her thick, short-cropped hair. Tall and slim, she carried several ammunition pouches at her waist, the thick strap over her shoulder suggesting the rifle probably hanging at her back. Both women stared directly at the camera, the taller of the pair frowning in the sunlight. The caption mentions her by name: "Deux jeunes miliciennes. Celle de gauche est l'étudiante Maria Petra Sendon y Galan, 'mitrailleur'," the epithet implying her technical skills rivalled those of the men. That no young militiaman was singled out by name and praised for the directness of his aim or the speed of his reactions is revealing; the fact that it *is* done for certain militiawomen suggests that, despite female participation in combat in the revolutionary past, their ability to master the technology of warfare was still considered a novel and unprecedented eventuality. It was also a practice which attempted to anchor the Spanish Civil War in the tradition of wars before 1914, in which personal skill and heroic deeds were all-important. Guernica was shortly to highlight the irrelevance of such myths in Spain.

One final aspect of the representation of militiawomen which bears comparison with the representation of their Republican brothers at arms concerned their transition from civilian to combattant. Although this was not explored to the same degree as it was for the militiamen in the French pro-Republican press, still Regards[31] reproduced a highly effective image concerned with this process, contrasting a militiawoman's former status with her newfound role in the ranks. Taken in a seamstress' workshop, the photograph depicted a young militiawoman returning to her previous workplace to enjoy the admiration of her colleagues. Mindless of the sewing machines beneath her feet, she stood recklessly on a tabletop - a sign of her new freedom from previous constraints - in trousers so long they covered her shoes. Her masculine attire, her leather belt and pistol,

[31] Regards, 11 November 1936, p14.

contrasted with the summer dresses and hair ribbons of her friends. Basking in their attention, she performs the militia salute albeit with open-palm instead of the customary clenched fist; the women crowd together at her feet, smiling their approval or even answering her salute. The caption, implying bravery, informs the reader that she was about to return to the front. "Meeting dans l'atelier," it reads. "Les couturières madrilènes qui travaillent pour les combattants entourent une milicienne qui va repartir pour le front."

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If the presence of women at arms appeared in the pro-Republican press of Britain and France to be a logical development of the exigencies of war, made the more natural by the normalising effect of the camera, for the pro-Insurgent press it was indeed the very stuff of scandal. It signalled the breakdown of social order and the end of private morality, and ushered in a new era of liscentiousness and a lamentable disregard for religion. Such portents of doom were found above all in the British press. While the French pro-Insurgent publications did not remain *completely* uncritical, they preferred not to compromise their positive representation of the women who had seen fit to join Insurgent ranks; only the British press therefore gave its invective full reign, forseeing only disaster in the spectacle of women at arms.

The most concise expression of the pro-Insurgent British press' horror at the sight of the militiawomen came in a photograph and article printed in the Daily Mail[32] on 27 July. (Fig.25). Under the heading "The Women Who Burn Churches..." was reproduced a photograph of a column of militiawomen marching in formation towards the photographer. The front pair of women were photographed full length, filling almost the entire frame, creating the impression of a relentless army marching inexorably down the cobbled streets of Spain. Wearing voluminous workers' overalls brought in Turkish style at the ankle, rifle straps crossing their chests, ammunition pouches at their hips and rifles over their left shoulders, the women seemed to have thrown aside all vestiges of femininity. Their grim-

[32] Daily Mail, 27 July 1936, p10.

set facial expressions conveyed an impression of fanaticism, while the caption confirmed their warmindedness: "Red Carmens are taking active part in the present fighting."

The epithet "Carmen", with its reference to the hot-blooded and ultimately destructive Sevillian heroine of Bizet's eponymous opera, was coupled with the value-laden qualifier "red" which associated the scarlet hues of the fallen woman with the term's more obvious political connotations; together they formed the title to the accompanying article. Indeed Ferdinand Tuohy's evocation of "Spain's Red Carmens" was a masterpiece of melodrama revealing more about the author's own preoccupations than about the reality of women's roles in Spain. In it Tuohy defines the characteristics of the militiawoman in terms drawn not only from Bizet's opera but also from French revolutionary history *and* from popular conceptions of Spanish womanhood. Sexually immoral, the militiawomen had eschewed all feminine characteristics in their lust for blood, while their contempt for religion left them open to the wildest excesses of depravity. Tracing their antecedents from the "blood-thirsty citoyens (sic)" of 1789 to the *pétroleuses* of the Paris Commune, Tuohy claimed that the factory was the true propagator of this barbarous breed. "It is essentially this factory type that has generated the 'Pétroleuse' and 'Pistolière' of the hour," he opines, since it and the Republic had exposed "Spain's young women of 18 and 20 [to a] persistent atmosphere of revolution during their most formative years." The looseness of their morals was demonstrated in their close physical proximity to the young men on the barricades, "the shoulder-to-shoulder girl opposite brother and lover...the pistol thrust forward in feminine grasp." Their complete lack of femininity was most clearly seen in the contrast they made with traditional Spanish womanhood: "The Spanish Woman," Tuohy expounds, "has been a creature to admire or to make work domestically, to marry or to let slip away into a religious order...65 per cent were illiterate." Just how far young Spanish womanhood on the Republican side had fallen from this ideal is recorded in Tuohy's assertion: "The idea of being anything like their mothers appalls them..." Their lack of feminine modesty allowed them positively to enjoy being the object of public attention; indeed Tuohy argues that "They like to hear themselves called Direct Action Girls." His most virulent criticism, however, emphasized by the paragraph's bold typeface, was reserved for their impiety and the utter depravity this spawned:

> ...whenever there is a question of burning a convent, church or monastery - particularly the first - be certain that young women will be found handing on the tins of petrol if not actually pouring the contents over the sacred relics. The hatred shown by them towards the nuns has to be experienced to be credited...

This linking of impiety and depravity echoed the church-burning of the page's headline, while the fiendishness of these women was underlined by their willingness to "inspire and spur on" their menfolk to increasingly barbaric deeds.

The final sting is reserved, however, for the tail. Says Tuohy, these women are "the true Red Carmens of Revolt - after all, Red was always that woman's colour, and setting man against man her 'forté'." Through the Carmen figure, then, Tuohy deploys his most powerful, if unoriginal, weapon against the Republican women who dared defy the passivity assigned to them by their tradition and their history: he attacks their sexuality. The absurdity of this is rendered the more obvious in the light of first-hand accounts detailing the renewed respect which allegedly arose between Republican men and women, as Ronald Fraser has demonstrated in Blood of Spain.[33] Franz Borkenau too comments on the lack of moral dissolution in Spain in comparison with the First World War and the Russian Revolution: "Another striking aspect of the Spanish Revolution," he maintains in the Spanish Cockpit, "is the absence of any deep upheaval in sex life."[34] One could be forgiven for wondering whether Mr Tuohy's criticism derives from real or simply imagined experience of Spain. Whatever its origins, his "Red Carmens" feature with its pictorial and linguistic allegations of sexual immorality, sacreligious depravity and eschewal of femininity set the tone for the entire pro-Insurgent representation of Republican women at arms.

That discipline and courage were definitely not among the qualities exhibited by Spain's "Red Carmens" is made apparent in two separate images appearing in the Illustrated

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[33] Fraser, Ronald: Blood of Spain, p285ff.

[34] Borkenau, Franz: The Spanish Cockpit: An Eyewitness Account of the Political and Social Conflicts of the Spanish Civil War, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1936, p134.

London News and Le Matin respectively. On 19 September the Illustrated London News[35] cast doubt upon the militiawomen's military discipline in a photograph of a crowd of these women playing up to the camera before their imminent departure for the front. With some of the women dressed in trousers, others in summer dresses, some bareheaded and others in military caps, the image depicts them holding a large banner over a barricade of sandbags and stones. Bearing the hammer and sickle symbol and words commemorating the "BATALLO 19 de Juliet" and the role of the "Milices Feminines," the banner echoes and complements the trade union posters on the walls behind proclaiming "unio es forca" with an image of two clenched fists. It is, however, the women who command attention. The chaotic impression conveyed by their irregular uniforms is carried through in their spirited behaviour, waving, saluting and smiling militiawomen crowding the picture in disorderly fashion. Here there is none of the dignified self-discipline attributed to the Insurgent women who joined the ranks by their sympathetic press, the Illustrated London News included. The caption, remaining true to its publication's professions of neutrality, stated only: "On the Government side: A group of Spanish militia women in light-hearted mood, at the barracks in Barcelona, about to leave for Saragossa, showing their inscribed banner"; it is the image which carries an implicit criticism, contrasting both with the understatement of the caption and the elegant, docile, *ornamental* women posed as the feminine ideal in the magazine's advertising pages.

Just as discipline was omitted from the "Red Carmens'" representation, so too was the soldierly quality of courage. In one of the only two representations of Republican women at arms to be published in the pro-Insurgent press in France during 1936, at least among the publications under review, Le Matin[36] printed on 11 August a photograph of three militiawomen firing from behind a barricade, the photograph providing a pretext for a long article whose sole purpose seemed to be the evocation of the militiawomen's cowardice. Wearing trousers as part of their full militia uniform, and burdened with backpacks, ammunition pouches and blankets, the women aimed their rifles at the enemy with only the rough stones of the barricade for protection. The caption states only: "Des

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[35] Illustrated London News, 19 September 1936, p446.

[36] Le Matin, 11 August 1936, p1.

miliciennes font le coup de feu derrière une barricade dans la Sierra Guadarrama." It is the following article, titled "Les Femmes et les Prêtres Dans La Guerre d'Espagne," which clearly attempts to inflect the photograph with allegations of cowardice. It begins by alleging their depravity and unfeminine behaviour:

> La guerre civile ne pouvait se déclencher sur cette terre passionnée sans que les Espagnoles y prisent une part enflammée. On a vu dans les cortèges armés et fièvreux de Madrid et de Saint-Sébastien des femmes brandir des fusils, croiser leur corsages des bandoulières de l'équipement guerrier, et parcourir les rues en chantant leur départ prochain...

Next their courage is called into question. "...Restait à savoir si cet enthousiasme se prolongerait jusqu'à la ligne de feu." The article continues:

> ...Dans la Sierra, toutes les femmes du Front populaire qui ont été faites prisonnières portaient la cotte blanche. Elles affirmèrent que c'était là la tenue de campagne des infirmières de Madrid et qu'elles ne se trouvaient aux avant-postes que pour soigner les blessés...Toutes n'avaient pas passé sur la manche le brassard de la Croix Rouge, qu'elles conservaient souvent en poche...

From questioning their bravery, the article then began alleging cowardice: "Les miliciens qui les cernèrent affirment que la plupart avaient des armes auprès d'elles. Mais ils rapportent que plusieurs d'entre elles, malgré leur volonté de bravoure, n'avaient pu supporter sans faiblir la brutalité du premier bombardement..." Any show of courage amongst these women was therefore mere pretence. These assertions refer the reader back to the image with a new perspective, the initial impression of the women's bravery undermined by the suspicion of deceit.

The negative characteristics encapsulated in the "Red Carmens" story found ample representation in the pages of the pro-Insurgent British press. Images of the degenerate behaviour of the Republican militiawomen filled the pages of the Illustrated London News and the Daily Mail in particular, the visual justification for such assertions residing in the invariable and "shocking" combination of woman and firearm. The most striking of these photographs was published in the Daily Mail[37] within the first week of civil war

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[37] Daily Mail, 24 July 1936, p11. This image also appeared in Vu (29 July 1936, p878) titled "Jolie, l'arme au bras elle s'en allait à travers la ville," and in Regards (30 July 1936, p11) titled "Une jeune héroïne de la liberté."

(Fig.26), and depicted two armed militiawomen marching towards the camera followed by a number of men eager to be included in the photograph and giving the Republican salute. The woman on the image's right-hand side wears a helmet and smiles for the camera. She appears to be waving a pistol; closer scrutiny reveals in fact that the jacketed arm that holds it is not hers. It is the central female figure, however, that dominates the photograph. Wearing a checked dress with a decorative frill running from collar to waistband, her hair styled, a bangle on one arm and a watch and handbag on the other, she seems to have embraced all the trappings of femininity. Yet her severe expression, the enormous rifle carried against her right shoulder, and the bayonet which, according to the caption, she carries in her left hand, signal her eschewal of womanly sensibilities and suggest that in wartime, the norms of traditional behaviour do not apply.

The caption, in enumerating those aspects of the image which transgressed the paper's conception of feminine behavioural norms, hints at the depravity of the women's behaviour: "Armed girl communists, one wearing a steel helmet and the other carrying bayonet as well as rifle - marching off to fight the anti-Reds in Madrid: this is the first picture from the Spanish capital since the revolution began and was brought to London last night by air." The women's close proximity to the crowd of men, whose bodies seemed to be pushing the women towards the camera, would have done little to enhance the women's reputation. As such, the photograph contained all the elements necessary to the evocation of female profligacy: their expressions, the miltiary helmet, their possession of firearms, and worst of all their consorting, unchaperoned, with men.

Underpinning nearly every photograph in the pro-Insurgent press of Republican women at arms was the implication of their sexual immorality. In the "Red Carmen" article this was made linguistically quite clear; indeed the very epithet "Carmen" already carried this in-built connotation. In photographs this accusation was made more subtlely, and relied more upon the reader's assumed notions of the conventions of acceptable behaviour. The Spanish militiawomen's deviation from these patterns was continually reinforced in almost every photograph of women at arms, showing them being watched almost voyeuristically by surrounding men, or indeed acting in close physical proximity to them - the "shoulder to shoulder girl opposite brother and lover," as Ferdinand Tuohy so vehemently remarked.

Part of the pro-Insurgent British press' disapproval stemmed from knowledge gleaned during the First World War, if not from earlier conflicts, of the links between war and sexuality. As Paul Fussell notes in The Great War and Modern Memory, "the atmosphere of emergency and the proximity of violence [that obtain in war] will always promote a relaxing of inhibition ending in a special hedonism and lasciviousness;"[38] perhaps it was a British unease with this knowledge, and the moral and religious codes they consequently invoked in its repression, which resulted in this difference between the British and French representations of women at war.

Thus a Daily Mail[39] photograph printed on 10 August suggested disapproval at the presence of a young woman alone in a room with seven men, watching an instructing officer explain the workings of a rifle ("...Note the interested gaze of the woman"), such objections frequently implying a moralistic viewpoint in the pro-Insurgent British press. Both the Daily Mail and the Illustrated London News printed a number of photographs of militiawomen suffering a form of punishment for their rejection of feminine convention. While these photographs could appear for example in the Illustrated London News with quite neutral captions, it is the fact they were printed at all that is significant; no such images appeared in the pro-Republican press. Thus the Daily Mail and the Illustrated London News both published the same photograph of a wounded militiawoman being helped to hospital by two of her male comrades (after fighting "against the anti-Reds");[40] while the Daily Mail depicted militiawomen bearing up under their thin blankets while keeping watch outside.[41] It was not until 19 September that a more serious evocation of retribution entered the pages of the pro-Republican British press, when the Illustrated London News reproduced a photograph of a flag-bedraped coffin being accompanied through the streets of the capital by a scruffy crowd of Republican soldiers armed with bayonets. A little incongruously, the flag bore the skull and crossbones emblem. This was the occasion, the caption informed the reader, of "The

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[38] Fussell, Paul: The Great War and Modern Memory, Oxford University Press, London, 1977, p270.

[39] Daily Mail, 10 August 1936, p9.

[40] Daily Mail, 29 July 1936, p11. See also the Illustrated London News, 8 August 1936, p221.

[41] Daily Mail, 6 August 1936, p16.

funeral of a woman soldier of the government forces who had been killed in action: men of the workers' militia forming a guard of honour as the coffin was born through Madrid." Somewhat surprisingly, not one woman was present amongst the mourners. The unvoiced implication of such images was moralistic: if women insisted upon engaging in male pursuits, the consequences would equally be visited upon them.

The only other negative view of Republican militiawomen to appear in the French pro-Insurgent press under examination was printed in Match[42] just before the end of the civil war in February 1939, and implied a retribution of a different sort. Comprising two images, this feature (Fig.27) took as its subject the life of a young Catalan woman, Juanita, depicted in the leading photograph in a militiawoman's jacket and cap. Seated at a bar-table beside two civilian-dressed men, she wore a roll-necked sweater and dangling, rhomboid earrings which undermined the severity of her military attire, counteracted further by her lipstick and made-up face. With two beer-bottles and two half-full glasses on the table before them, the three appeared to be relaxing after closing-time signalled by the stacks of chairs behind them. This image was matched by a second, depicting the same young woman dressed this time as a dancer in an elaborate black dress with striped inserts, an artificial flower behind her ear and a thick metallic braclet on her wrist. She wore the same earrings as in the previous image, suggesting the militiawoman's outfit was also perhaps just a costume. The caption recounted her story. "Juanita, une jeune Catalane," it reads, "fut milicienne à Barcelone. Elle n'échappe que par miracle aux bombes d'avions. Elle est maintenant danseuse dans un dancing de Perpignan. Elle n'a rien renié de ses idées, mais il faut bien vivre..." The regretful tone of the caption suggests Juanita's fate was that of a fallen woman; it implied her rejection of a respectable female role had been the direct cause of her descent to the life of a refugee show-girl in a Perpignan club. Her fall was her retribution.

Thus for the pro-Insurgent press of Britain in particular, the presence of women at arms was deeply scandalous. The militiawomen's eschewal of religion and feminity, their depravity in consorting openly with communist men, and their questionable sexual

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[42] Match, 16 February 1939, p47.

morality - all this was extremely shocking to the conservative British sensibility. The iconographical index of this scandal was always the juxtaposition of women with firearms, revealing a deep-seated conception of woman's role which excluded them entirely from the ambit of warfare, except of course as its victims. The presence of watching men, a frequent feature of these images, provided further insinuations. That discipline and courage did not contribute to the perceived qualities of the militiawomen in the eyes of the pro-Insurgent press in either Britain or France was almost a foregone conclusion. The pro-Republican press' active attempts to assert the opposite is a measure of its willingness to engage with the arguments of its ideological counterparts, and evidence of common ground in the popular *mentalité*.

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Unlike the British pro-Insurgent press, the pro-Insurgent press in France seemed reluctant to denigrate too strongly the presence of women at war. One reason for this could reside in the French pro-Insurgent press' recognition that women on the Nationalist side also felt the urge to play an active part in the war effort. Although female military involvement on the Insurgent side is less well documented, and less visible, (Liz Willis argues that female participation was on the whole "less noticeable on the right than on the left"),[43] a small number of photographs did appear, chiefly in the pro-Insurgent press in France, depicting women grouped into military-style units. Whether they saw any active combat is, however, uncertain. As a rule they were never photographed with firearms, nor in the trousers so much more practical for warfare, unlike their Republican sisters. In the sympathetic press they were shown to be disciplined and dignified, engaging in only the most seemly feminine activities. As such, their representation marked the continuation not of the tradition of women at arms, but of conventional, peacetime, female roles simply conducted in uniform.

That the pro-Insurgent press was itself uneasy in depicting of Nationalist women at arms can be seen in images used in illustration of these women's discipline. A photograph

[43] Willis, Liz: "Women in the Spanish Revolution", Solidarity Pamphlet no 48, London 1975, p1.

printed in the Illustrated London News[44] on 19 September, (Fig.28) and within the same week in the Daily Mail[45] and Le Matin,[46] both depicts and subverts this notion. Five women were photographed standing in single file, all dressed uniformly in long skirts, thick leather belts, military caps and open-necked militia-shirts with sleeves rolled up to the elbow. The woman closest to the camera wore the stripes of military distinction over her pocket. All stood to attention in a flag-bedecked village square; the impression of their military discipline was however undermined by the women's expressions. Self-conscious in their military attire, the three women closest the camera looked directly at the photographer, and consequently, directly at the reader; two of the three smiled, one coquettishly, while another two grinned at the camera over the shoulders of their colleagues. Both the heading: "Feminism in Arms: Amazons of the Spanish Civil War" and the caption: "On the rebel side: A body of uniformed women march through Huelva, on the Rio Tinto front, after the capture of the town by the insurgent forces," imply these women had taken part in the actual fighting; however their lack of firearms, their unmilitaristic comportment and the ambivalence of their representation suggested otherwise.

The most striking aspect of the French pro-Insurgent press' depiction of women at war resides in the extent to which they were represented carrying out the same tasks as they fulfilled as civilians. Thus l'Illustration[47] published a photograph on 7 November in which a woman dressed in military attire - including the requisite skirt - was depicted walking towards the photographer with a wide basket on her arm. As "une cantinière de la légion," she had simply transferred her responsibilities for the preparation of food from the civilian to the military domain. An image published in L'Illustration[48] on 12 September defined another acceptable role for women in war, despite the controversial nature of its representation. (Fig.29). This was the only image printed in any of the

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[44] Illustrated London News, 19 September 1936, p466.

[45] Daily Mail, 12 September 1936, p10.

[46] Le Matin, 11 September 1936, p1.

[47] L'Illustration, 7 November 1936, p289.

[48] L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p48.

publications under examination showing not only a single Insurgent woman alone amongst a group of men, but showing her in possession of a firearm. Dressed demurely in a skirt, her hair in a feminine chignon, she wore a Red Cross armband above her left elbow which seemed to identify her as a nurse. Yet her possession of a weapon and her representation as if on equal terms with unshaven, cigarette-smoking soldiers clashed with her retiring demeanour and modestly averted eyes. This contradiction is clearly acknowledged by the caption: "La seule femme entrée dans Irun avec un bataillon du Tercio: elle porte un brassard à croix rouge et...un pistolet." If indeed the woman was considered a member of the unit with which she was depicted, her presence seemed justified as much by her prowess with bandages as with weapons, and depended at least in part upon her pursuit of that quintessentially feminine activity, nursing.

A image appearing in Le Matin[49] was perhaps the most revealing of the limitations of pro-Insurgent depictions of Nationalist women at war, simultaneously linking their alleged discipline and dignity with the continuation of feminine pursuits. (Fig.30) At least six women were photographed standing in a row dressed in Insurgent military uniform, including the requisite calf-length skirts. Photographed from below, the angle again denoting admiration, the women exhibited a lack of discipline in their varied expressions, in the different directions of their gaze, in the individual gestures of hands and arms. On the left-hand edge of the photograph stood a male soldier, significantly the only one amongst them to possess a weapon, as if charged with their protection. Another male stood symmetrically placed on the opposite side of the image - a young boy in short trousers and military cap smiling for the camera, his crossed hands echoing the gesture of some of the women, and indeed linking him visually to them. Interestingly, the caption privileges the young boy over the soldier: "DU CÔTÉ DES NATIONAUX. - Une section phalangiste de femmes et de boy scouts." Any impropriety in the presence of an armed soldier amidst the women is defused by declining to mention him at all. More significantly, the image implied a maternal role for the women by juxtaposing them with the boy. The reader's attention was distracted from the women's militaristic demeanour by the caption which, in associating the women with children, highlighted a role more

[49] Le Matin, 14 October 1936, p10.

compatible with womanly convention. Thus in representing these women as dignified and morally unimpeachable, defenceless because unarmed, feminine because dressed in skirts, disciplined because standing in ranks, and conventional because associated with children as befitted their natural calling, Le Matin neatly synthesized in a single image the major components of the pro-Insurgent representation of Insurgent women at war.

* * *

In their representation of women at arms, the French and British press had available to it a range of at least four myths to develop or reject, and the choices each publication made in this regard reveal their deeper attitudes to both women and war. As all four myths - of soldiers, Red Carmens, Spanish Amazons and *pétroleuses* - coexisted in each society, each forming part of their predominant *mentalité*, it was the ideological colouring of the publications themselves that determined which of these myths should be privileged and manipulated. Once again the range of available iconographical tools is limited by the dominant *mentalité*, a restriction necessary in order to guarantee the images maximum intelligibility, impact and potential to influence. For the press of each side had undertaken a double task in its depiction of women at arms: not only to persuade the reader of the inherent virtues of the women they supported, but indeed to alter the *mentalité* itself, to impose their own preferred image as the only one of any validity. This was a battle of representation which would take the publications far from the "reality" of events in Spain.

That the left in both Britain and France should adopt the myth of the fighting man as its basic model in its representation of women at arms suggests that this soldierly ideal was equally prominent in the collective imagination of both nations. Thus the virtues of courage, discipline and selflessness which distinguished the fighting men were simply transferred to their female counterparts, photographs providing the necessary "proof" of their applicability. Images illustrating these qualities in the fighting women were then used to justify with logic their presence in the ranks, equality between women and men supposedly taken for granted. That the French, however, had direct access to a myth equally if not more potent allowed them a freedom of representation not readily available to the sympathetic press in Britain. Whether the *pétroleuses* of the Commune were taken

as a positive or negative image of women at war, the fact remains that they constituted a precedent in the French collective memory which was shaped and built upon by the French pro-Republican press. That Britain had no iconographical equivalent to Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People for example suggests the extent to which the iconographical possibilities for the representation of women at war differed in each nation. Thus the French pro-Republican press was able to expound photographically the femininity, youth or age of individual fighting women, and indeed openly praise some of them for their performance in action, without first having to combat the prejudices that obtained in Britain. Even the British evocation of the "Amazon" myth succeeded only because it was compatible with the myth of the soldier - for these women had virtually to transform themselves into men by suppressing their emotions and mutilating their bodies in order to succeed as both warriors and as icons. The French representation instead took the opposite view. Both in the Delacroix painting and in the *pétroleuse* myth, femininity was central, a rhetorical device used deliberately in legitimization of the cause.

That the presence of women at arms was a development of war widely accepted in France is corroborated by the lack of any clearly negative images of such women in either the Pro-Insurgent or pro-Republican press. The pro-Insurgent French press on the whole mobilised few such photographs to counter the virtues of the militiawomen as asserted in the pro-Republican press, since this could only reflect negatively on images of their own uniformed women. The French pro-Republican press reproduced no photographs whatsoever disparaging Insurgent woman at arms, perhaps for similar reasons. The pro-Insurgent French press concentrated instead on the positive representation of Nationalist women at war, although this was done within clearly circumscribed boundaries, without the presence of symbols as controversial as rifles or trousers. Although female discipline was emphasized, these publications were concerned above all with representing Insurgent women in the ranks as pursuing conventional civilian roles. Ultimately it was left to the pro-Insurgent *British* press to articulate the Amazon's fictional opposite - the "Red Carmen," a construct encapsulating a set of beliefs about female comportment live and current in the British imagination. These photographs, suggesting female depravity, sexual immorality, sacreligious attitudes and a rejection of conventional femininity, presupposed an ideal of womanhood among British conservatives implying self-effacement, chastity,

piety and femininity. The mere juxtapostion of woman, firearm and militiaman was sufficient to herald the end of social stability as they knew it.

Thus the representation of women at war revealed a *mentalité* in France which defied ideological borders in accepting, if not condoning, new and unconventional conceptions of womanhood, and an understanding of war no longer as a wholly masculine domain. British public opinion could not have been more divided. Ambivalent about the entire issue of women at war, the pro-Republican press on the whole applauded the phenomenon, but perceived women's role only as a subsidiary of that of the militiamen, understood exclusively in terms of male experience. The women's femininity was not to be emphasized. The extent of polarisation on this issue in Britain can be estimated by the strength of pro-Insurgent feeling, the "Red Carmen" embodying all that conservative opinion most feared from civil war - gender mutation and the breakdown of society itself.[50] Such discord revealed a real unease with changing concepts of woman's place; indeed for British conservatives, the phenomenon of women at arms was scandalous in the extreme.

[50] Cf Mellor, David: "Death in the Making: Representing the Spanish Civil War," No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War, p30.

CHAPTER 3: THE ELUSIVE IDEAL: THE CIVILIANS
PART A: SEMIOLOGY AND THE CHANGING CITYSCAPE

> Je vois, à la verticale, que des bibelots d'une autre époque, sous un cristal pur qui ne tremble pas. Je me penche sur des vitrines de musée...Je regarde la grande plaque miroitante de ma vitrine. Là-dessous sont les hommes. Des infusoires sur une lamelle de microscope...Je suis un savant glacial, et leur guerre n'est plus, pour moi, qu'une étude de laboratoire.
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> Antoine de Saint-Exupéry: Pilote de Guerre, 1942.[1]

In an essay titled: "Sémiologie et urbanisme" published in 1970 in the journal Architecture d'aujourd'hui, Roland Barthes cites the work of the American urbanist Kevin Lynch as one of the few theorists who gave any priority to the "problèmes de la signification" of urban space as perceived by its inhabitants. As a semiologist Barthes praises Lynch's concern to "penser la ville dans les termes mêmes de la conscience qui la perçoit, c'est à dire de retrouver l'image de la ville dans les lectures de cette ville." Barthes continues:

> ...d'une part il y a dans son oeuvre tout un vocabulaire de la signification (par exemple il accorde une grande place à la lisibilité de la ville...) et en bon semancier il a le sens des unités discrètes; il a essayé de retrouver dans l'espace urbain les unités discrètes; toutes proportions gardées, ressembleraient un peu à des phonèmes et à des semantèmes. Ces unités il les appelle chemins, clôtures, quartiers, noeuds, points de référence. Ce sont des catégories d'unités qui pouvaient facilement devenir des catégories sémantiques...[2]

Thus with Lynch Barthes was arguing for an understanding of the city as a language constructed of discrete units of meaning held together by its own syntax and logic. He conceived of the urban environment as a language whose currency derived from its usage,

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[1] De Saint-Exupéry, Antoine: Pilote de Guerre, Gallimard, Paris, 1942, pp74,72,98.

[2] Barthes, Roland: "Sémiologie et urbanisme," in Architecture d'aujourd'hui, no 153, décembre 1970-janvier 1971, p11. See also: Lynch, Kevin: The Image of the City, the Technology Press and Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1960, especially p46ff.

from the way its inhabitants related to it and behaved within it.[3] While it could be argued that Barthes' conception amounts to little more than a complex metaphor, still there is a level at which the semiological model *can* offer insights to the historian, the language of the city and the rhetoric of photographic discourse moving beyond the confines of semiology to intersect with a wider history.

Of all the photographs of civil war Spain published in the French and British press, none appeared more frequently or provided such persistent fascination as did images of the urban face of Spain at war. The photographs themselves suggest that the Spanish Civil War was fought out exclusively in the streets of Madrid, Toledo, Barcelona, San Sebastiàn and Irún, the place names marking the limits of the photographic quest. For the illustrated publications of Britain and France, the Spanish Civil War remained overwhelmingly an urban affair taking place chiefly in the major towns and cities; the damage these urban centres underwent was endlessly photographed and reproduced in the pages of the foreign press.

Thus every alteration to the physionomy of these cities was conscientiously recorded by the photographers in Spain. Only one category of images of the urban landscape did not conform to this trend. These were file photographs of Spanish cities, architectural monuments and urban views, all taken before 1936 and reprinted chiefly in the French press as a record of Spain's cultural heritage suddenly under threat, used as a yardstick of change to the city at war. They were frequently published as the action approached their locality. Thus L'Illustration,[4] as early as 1 August 1936, printed ten photographs taken just outside Madrid at the Escorial Palace, which housed the "Panthéon des rois d'Espagne," as the battle for the capital was prepared, and another 15 taken in and around Burgos, by now the Insurgents' headquarters, focusing on the architectural wonders of its cathedral and honouring the city as the birthplace of El Cid, the legendary eleventh-

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[3] "La cité est un discours et ce discours est véritablement un langage: la ville parle à ses habitants, nous parlons notre ville, la ville où nous nous trouvons, simplement en l'habitant, en la parcourant, en la regardant." Barthes, Roland: ibid, p12.

[4] L'Illustration, 1 August 1936, pp412-15.

century military leader.[5] Le Matin also proved prolific in this regard; Vu and Regards, albeit with less copious coverage, followed suit.

Apart from such images, then, photographs of the urban landscape published in the French and British press traced in detail the gradual mutation of the wartime city. It is these inflections, deformations, continuities and breakdowns in the city's structure and function, all conscientiously recorded by the camera, which themselves suggest a structural analogy between language and the city and affirm the applicability of the semiological model.[6] What then do these images depicting patterns of change, and the manner in which these changes were recorded, tell the historian about the *mentalité* of the society in which they functioned? What role did ideology play in their generation? To what extent did new ways of seeing help shape conceptions in Britain and France of the city at war, and indeed of warfare itself? Through a consideration of these questions I hope implicitly to argue for a reading of photographs which enables the historian to benefit from the perceptions advanced by structuralist analysis in understanding the value of the visual source.

* * *

While changes to the physical cityscape were recorded with scrupulous attention in the photographs published in the French and British press, a relatively new development in the science of warfare was changing the way people conceived of these same surroundings. First introduced towards the end of the First World War, the air raid became the object of unflagging curiosity in the press of both nations when it suddenly and devastatingly recurred in Spain; the camera's eye was duly enlisted in a quest for information about its every aspect. Thus both the British and French publications of all persuasions published images depicting preparations for bombing raids,[7] or planes flying

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[5] L'Illustration, 26 December 1936, pp536-40.

[6] Indeed this analogy seems particularly apt with regard to the use of literal language in the city streetscape. Regards, (3 December 1936, p8) for example, showed shop signs partially destroyed by the fighting, while Paris-Soir (23 July 1936, p1), depicted a group of civilians in the Insurgent zone destroying a street sign which bore the name of a Republican general.

[7] See for example the Illustrated London News, 15 August 1936, p272; and Regards, 13 August 1936, p8.

into battle,[8] and the paradoxical fragility of the planes themselves in images of the wreckage of air disasters.[9] The French press went further even than this, reproducing a wide variety of images identifying various planes as either Russian or Italian built,[10] showing them being assembled,[11] landing,[12] or being camouflaged on the ground,[13] and portraying their pilots as minor heroes.[14] At the same time that the bombing plane entered the popular consciousness as a formidable element of modern warfare, it also introduced and made possible ways of seeing which prior to the Second World War had only been imagined since the Middle Ages.[15] Bernd Hüppauf, in an essay on war and perception, writes that the combination of the camera and the aeroplane initiated "one of the most powerful innovations of war technology this century," one which had "far reaching implications for the history of perception and the modern mentality."[16]

For as well as the profound impact air raids undoubtedly had on the feelings of vulnerability, helplessness and exposure amongst ground soldiers and civilians alike,[17]

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[8] See the Illustrated London News, 10 October 1936, p625; and Match, 11 August 1938, p5.

[9] See the Daily Mail, 19 November 1936, p7; and Paris-Soir's photographs allegedly of the Italian supply planes bound for Franquist Spain which crashed in Morocco, indicating the violation of the non-intervention agreement. (3 August 1936, p12.)

[10] See L'Illustration, 8 August 1936, p436; and Match, 11 August 1938, p10.

[11] Regards, 29 October 1936, p15.

[12] Le Matin, 6 August 1936, p1.

[13] Vu, 25 November 1936, p1436.

[14] Regards, 13 August 1936, p8.

[15] Nadar's experiments with photographs taken from hot air balloons over Paris in the 1850s and 60s anticipated the new vision of aerial photography perfected by the warplane, while André Malraux's blow by blow account of an air-raid over Spain in L'Espoir (Gallimard, Paris, 1937) seems to be the first major literary acknowledgement of this development, reinforcing the impact of the new technology on the consciousness of the nation. In "Practices of Space," Michel de Certeau writes of the medieval and Renaissance painters who depicted the cities of their time from an eye that did not yet exist, inventing both "flying over the city and the type of representation that made it possible." See Blonsky, Marshall: On Signs, p124.

[16] Hüppauf, Bernd, "Modernism and the Photographic Representation of War and Destruction," forthcoming in Hillman, Roger and Leslie Devereux (eds): nt, Oxford University Press, 1992, np.

[17] See below, Chapter 3: Part B: The Anthropology of Civilian Life, p198ff.

the warplane also fundamentally altered the way the wartime environment was perceived. Entering the pages of the illustrated press for the first time towards the end of the First World War, the aerial photograph rapidly became part of the ordinary, visual vocabulary in the representation of the Spanish Civil War. Its artificiality, its "rationally structured order," its elimination of the appallingly sensory aspects of warfare, the sense of all-seeing power it conferred on the viewer, and finally, its eschewal of empathy in recording war's most devastating deeds as abstractions, all these characteristics of the aerial photograph were normalised in the pages of the press. They became not just acceptable, but indeed intrinsic aspects of the everyday depiction of modern war. It is not simply that the values of life, individuality, privacy and security were negated by technological war, as Paul Fussell has observed of air raids at the end of the Great War.[18] Rather, diminished by distance, such everyday human concerns did not even register in these images, disappearing altogether from consideration in both militaristic and propagandist photographs.[19]

The detached, impersonal view of the aerial photograph was best illustrated in two photographs appearing in the pro-Insurgent press of Britain and France. L'Illustration's photograph,[20] a "low oblique" image rather than a "high vertical" shot, to borrow the photographer Edward Steichen's terminology,[21] had been taken from above the rooftops of an indistinguishable city, smoke pouring skywards from several points. The slight

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[18] In the work of post World War II writers, Paul Fussell identifies an attempt to "locate fictionally in the Great War the paradigm of that contempt for life, individuality and privacy, and that facile recourse to violence that have characterised experience in the twentieth century." See The Great War and Modern Memory, p322.

[19] Allan Sekula, in his article on the aerial photography of Edward Steichen during the Second World War, emphasized this abstracting quality of the aerial image: "War ceases to project any bodily threat; instead, the audience is offered the heroism of the machine and, indirectly, that of the arms manufacturer... both human and political meanings of war are obscured." See "The Instrumental Image: Steichen At War" in Artforum, Vol XIV, no. 4, December 1975, p28. If, as Gabriel Jackson writes, the Spaniards' conception of war in 1936 consisted of "short infantry encounters involving small units and only incidentally affecting civilian life - as in the Carlist and Moroccan wars," these images can give only partial acknowledgement to the effect these technological developments must have had on the Spanish psyche. See Jackson, Gabriel: A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War, p177.

[20] L'Illustration, 14 November 1936, p337.

[21] Steichen, Edward: "American Aerial Photography at the Front," US Air Service, 1919, p34, quoted in Sekula, Allan: "The Instrumental Image: Steichen At War," pp29-30.

blurring of the image implies the authenticity of engine shudder, while the billowing smoke obscured all the buildings on the photograph's right-hand side. Although the plane flew low enough to enable trees, streets and buildings to be observed within the image, no detail could be discerned, no signs of life even figuring on film. The aerial photograph was unable to show destruction on a human scale; nor did the caption attempt any redress: "Bombardement aérien d'un des faubourgs du Sud-Ouest de la capitale". The human dimension was irrevokably lost in the celebration of the mechanical wizardry of camera and plane.

Like L'Illustration, the Illustrated London News manifested some enthusiasm for the new vision. On 31 October[22] the magazine published a series of four photographs, each a narrow, horizontal image stretching across the double page, each bearing in discreet lettering the titles of the city's most important buildings. The city itself is treated as if it were a naturally occurring landmark rather than a complex structure created to accomodate human needs; there is no sense that pinpointing particular locations might mimic the pilot's search for targets or points of orientation, essential to the process of extinguishing human lives. The editor has adopted wholesale the pilot's perspective, frames of reference, and mode of thought; the image's title invites the reader to do likewise, describing the living city as an inanimate object: "WITHIN FRANCO'S "PINCERS": MADRID, CHIEF OBJECTIVE OF THE ADVANCING INSURGENTS." The labelling of landmarks encourages such a view, transforming the image into a diagrammatical abstraction in which the human responses of terror, pain and anguish could have no place.

A double-page view of Madrid printed in the Illustrated London News[23] a fortnight later was similarly described in its caption with astounding aplomb: "Madrid from the southwest: A panorama...A general view of a city that presented a difficult object for attack, with buildings that rise tier upon tier, constituting formidable battlements." That buildings could be considered obstacles to bombardment rather than sites of human

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[22] Illustrated London News, 31 October 1936, p778-9.

[23] Illustrated London News, 14 November 1936, p844-5.

habitation indicates a mentality subtlely but profoundly altered by war's sophisticated mechanics, a change directly influenced by the detached, objectifying view from the cockpit window. Buildings are only "tiered battlements" from the air.

Not all aerial photographs were allowed to stand divorced from the human suffering their production implied, however. Although an aerial photograph of Madrid's rooftops patterned with smoke was accompanied in the Daily Mail[24] by a caption bedazzled by the triple technology of aperture, aircraft and explosive, the article beneath took the perspective of the city's inhabitants. Despite its efforts to justify the air-raids ideologically, it does take stock of the the human cost of the onslaught, matching aerial observation with the experience of the people on the ground.

> When the squadron of seven large anti-Red bombers flew over they were so low that the pilots could be seen...It is believed that between 150 and 200 people, mostly workers erecting barricades, have been killed or wounded by the bombs and shells...Bombs also fell near the radiostation which transmits all the government propaganda...The big hotels of the city are packed with wounded. The streets are strewn with dead and dying. No-one has time to clear them away...

Although the partisan rationalisations ("anti-Red bombers" eliminating only subversive revolutionaries - "workers erecting barricades" - and "propaganda-transmitting" radio stations) cannot justify the enormity of the damage inflicted, what is unusual is the article's resistance to the notion that the god-like celestial eye - the aperture in the aircraft - embodied the only valid point of view.[25]

The French weekly magazine Vu also resisted this concept. Two days after the Daily Mail published its image, Vu[26] printed a series of three Keystone photographs in a newsreel-like sequence following the progression of an actual airraid. The first depicted the borderline between country and city, patchwork fields edging a town obscured by the smoke and dust of an exploding shell. The technical imperfection, which saw the wing

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[24] Daily Mail, 9 November 1936, p13.

[25] Michel de Certeau makes much of the "omnivisual power" of the celestial eye created by technology in "Practices of Space," p124.

[26] Vu, 11 November 1936, p1146.

of the plane blur black across the right-hand side of the image, added authenticity, just as the shudder blur did for L'Illustration's photograph. The second image was taken from directly above the town, a curved row of buildings forming a border between the urban and the rural, while at three points smoke clouded the view - and the damage - below. The final image had been taken a couple of seconds later, the plane climbing away after a fourth explosion. A curved road cleaves the town in two, while the lack of any visible public buildings suggests that this was primarily a residential quarter - its bombing purely in the interests of terror. Like the Daily Mail's article, Vu's caption also chose the perspective of the inhabitants below:

> C'est quartier par quartier, rue par rue, que cernant Madrid, les soldats du général Franco auront conquis la Capitale où les miliciens gouvernementaux se seront sacrifiés dans une lutte aussi héroïque que tragique. Lancées par les avions nationalistes, bombes et torpilles aériennes ont causé des dégâts considérables dans divers quartiers, où au milieu des rues et des maisons incendiées, on a relevé des centaines de morts et de blessés.

That it required the addition of another medium - the linguistic - to evoke the human suffering belied by the dispassionate, omniscient view of the aerial photograph, is a measure of the potential of the new vision. Its possibilities as a palatable, innocuous, even fascinating photographic record of killing without showing death, of destruction without showing damage, were only beginning to be understood by the press in Britain and France.

But the detachment of the aerial photograph did not hold absolute sway in the French and British press. A counter-impulse equally insistent urged these publications to investigate the effects of the new technology on the ground, to register its impact on a human scale. While the effect of the air-raid on individual lives shall be explored at a later stage,[27] the following pages are concerned with the manner in which the illustrated press conscientiously catalogued every alteration such warfare imposed on the physical city. While the more familiar scale of these ground-level photographs reaffirmed human values in the face of the technological onslaught, their production and publication seem to have been inspired by an intense curiosity about what modern war physically looked like, and

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[27] See below, Chapter 3: Part B: The Anthropology of Civilian Life, p198ff.

by unarticulated fears in Britain and France that their own future was written in these images.

"Toute figure de rhétorique," writes the semiotician Jacques Durand,

> pourra s'analyser ainsi dans la transgression feinte d'une norme. Suivant le cas, il s'agira des normes du langage, de la morale, de la société, de la logique, du monde physique, de la réalité, etc...Dans l'image, les normes en cause sont surtout ceux de la réalité physique, telles que les transmet la représentation photographique.[28]

Although Durand was chiefly referring to photography in the service of advertising, his recognition that the impact of such images derives largely from their subversion of the expected applies equally to press photographs. The rules of physical reality were broken in a most literal sense in these images of the city at war, and the photographers who recorded these changes to the urban physionomy did so with particular diligence. The language of rhetoric, geared to measure the smallest semantic shift, charts these nuances most accurately, making popular French and British conceptions of the norms of urban life explicit by tracing their subversion.

Thus the terminology of rhetoric appears eminently suited to an analysis of physical change to the city as it was photographically described in the press. Slight alterations in the city's external appearance for example operated like the inflections or accents of spoken language, while changes in the function of a particular site found their linguistic analogy in the *homology*, which marks correspondences between the structures, but not the functions, of particular rhetorical forms. Blockages and gaps in the continuity of the city can be characterised as the *asyndeton* of rhetorical terminology, in which customary syntactic links are broken. Comparatively minor alterations to the structures of the city can be seen as analogous to linguistic *modification*, while displacement of objects from their usual locations, and often their introduction into new ones, found its rhetorical equivalent at times in *antiphrasis*, where words (or objects) are used in opposition to their usual meanings, and at times in *accumulation* which, according to Victor Burgin, is

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[28] Durand, Jacques: "Rhétorique et image publicitaire," pp71-2. Also cited in Burgin, Victor: "Photographic Practice and Art Theory," in Burgin, Victor (ed): Thinking Photography, p71.

signified primarily by abundance and disorder.[29] If illogicality can be said to characterise these displacements, this was even more true of the most profound changes to the physical city, in which customary urban structures were hollowed out, their form deprived of content or indeed the inverse, their content deprived of form. Such changes could be characterised as *antilogy*, signifying a contradiction in terms. Photographic attempts to capture the actual process of devastation were chiefly *metonymic*, destruction represented symbolically through clouds of smoke or fire, or shown in partial form, one part of a collapsing structure standing in for the greater whole. As Durand observes of the advertising photograph, all these rhetorical devices operate as figures of addition, suppression, substitution or exchange,[30] the predominance in this study of the suppressive or elliptical mode perhaps hardly surprising in the context of war.

Among the mildest changes to the physical city, and one of the few of Durand's figures of addition to appear in the French and British press in this regard, was the inflection of the cityscape by the introduction of new elements. This was a technique which found greater currency in publications of all persuasions in France than in Britain where it was scarcely acknowledged. Thus while Le Matin and Match printed images of public buildings with new protective layers of sandbags,[31] or of guards positioned outside the Seville Radio Station,[32] Regards' subject was more explicitly political. Attributed to "Chim", the image[33] depicted a number of political banners strung up across a street from buildings at least three stories high, introducing a literal language into the syntax of the city. These flags bore slogans manifestly partisan: "No Pasaran! / EL FASCISMO QUIERE CONQUISTAR MADRID / MADRID SERA LA TOMBA DEL FASCISMO", colouring the neutral city streets with a partisan hue. The caption translates the banners for its readers, marking implicitly the interweaving of three systems of signs - the urban, the political and the linguistic: "'Ils ne passeront pas. Le fascisme veut conquérir Madrid,

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[29] Burgin, Victor: "Photographic Practice and Art Theory," p78.

[30] "Rhétorique et image publicitaire," p75ff.

[31] Le Matin, 20 August 1936, p1; Match, 17 November 1938, p17.

[32] Le Matin, 14 October 1936, p1.

[33] Regards, 22 October 1936, p6.

Madrid sera le tombeau du fascisme.' L'une des nombreuses banderoles qui surplombent les rues de la capitale."[34]

The British press proved uninterested both in these minor alterations, and in the changes in function of particular city sites, the homology which saw new purposes fitted to older forms. Just as minor additions to the city could be used photographically to political effect, so too could these functional changes be conscripted into the propaganda war. Thus a Paris-Soir photograph depicting militiamen camped in the nave of a Toledo church, marking a shift in the building's function from chapel to barracks, became a political statement in the context of allegations of Republican contempt for religion.[35] Likewise, photographs depicting the Republican movement's professed concern for culture, showing for example the aristocratic home of the Duc d'Albe transformed into "un club culturel pour les jeunes ouvriers,"[36] was a functional change rendered equally political by virtue of its partisan use.

No homologic shift received more attention, however, than did the transformation of Barcelona's Hotel Colon into the seat of the unified Socialist and Communist Party headquarters, its coverage so extensive perhaps because of its familiarity to its erstwhile French patrons. Both Regards and L'Illustration printed two photographs each of the grand hotel in its new function, the first pair appearing on 8 and 15 August respectively.[37] Both publications reproduced almost the same photograph, Regards' version cropping out the hotel's two upper floors, disguising its actual size. Prominent in both images were three large banners draped across the building's facade proclaiming the presence of the "PARTIT SOCIALISTA DE CATALUNYA" which "ADHERIT A LA INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISTA", the linguistic codes thereby signalling the change in the building's function. The life of the city continued apparently unaffected by the

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[34] A image equally political appeared in Vu on 5 August 1936, p910, showing strings of white flags suspended from the balconies of a deserted Barcelona street. The cation explains that these flags signalled the inhabitants' loyalty to the Catalan government.

[35] Paris-Soir, 31 July 1936, p5.

[36] Regards, 29 October 1936, p16.

[37] Regards, 8 August 1936, p3; L'Illustration, 15 August 1936, p473.

transformation, its inhabitants pictured attending to their daily affairs regardless. The surrounding buildings stood undamaged, gardens and statues undisturbed, the street-lamps all intact; only the fact that the fountain had stopped suggested anything other than complete normality. The building's new function slipped effortlessly into the stream of urban life.

While the captions to this pair of images did little more than acknowledge the change in the hotel's role (Regards' read: "Le siège du parti socialiste-communiste unifié de Catalogne, à Barcelone, dans l'ancien hôtel Colon"; while L'Illustration stated simply: L'Hôtel Colon devenu le siège du parti socialiste unifié catalan), the captions to two further images scored political messages into the homologic change. Regards,[38] on 20 August, printed a vertical photograph of the hotel without its celebratory banners in an image which emphasized the building's grandeur. Four floors, three of which had balconies, were visible in the image while a large sunshade printed with the words "HOTEL COLON" and "RESTAURANT" sheltered the deserted café tables. Although initially misleading, the photograph is in fact printed retrospectively, and was probably taken during the first days of civil war just prior to the hotel's requisition. The caption describes it as "L'Hôtel Colon, aussitôt après le siège qui se termina par la défaite des rebelles."

The Republican victory this photograph and caption indirectly applaud is disparaged by L'Illustration's photograph the following December.[39] Here the famous hotel is once again portrayed with its socialist-communist banners, but this time hung also with a large poster of Lenin and Stalin, and two more heroising the workers. The foreground has altered, two small two-man tents erected amongst a number of mysterious tripods, although civilian life continues much as it did in the publication's earlier image. The caption confers an ideological judgement upon the registered functional change: "Le célèbre hôtel Colon, à Barcelone, avec ses effigies de Lénine et de Staline." In the context

[38] Regards, 20 August 1936, p8.

[39] L'Illustration, 12 December 1936, p473

of the publication's pro-Insurgent sympathies, the emphasis on the Lenin and Stalin banners transforms the simple image of functional change into a political instrument.

The most powerful expression of the effect of war on the urban environment, and one which fascinated the British press as much as the French, concerned changes to the syntax of the city. Breaks in the usual patterns of transport and communication furnished an endless variety of images illustrating the rhetorical device of asyndeton - the elimination of syntactic links.[40] The earliest, and perhaps most striking of these was embodied in the construction of barricades designed with the double function of fortification and blockage, halting the free flow of people, vehicles, goods and information through the corridors of the city. On 15 August the Illustrated London News[41] printed a photograph of a barricade erected in the streets of San Sebastián, constructed of paving stones and abandoned merchants' barrows: objects used to facilitate transportation now used ironically in its impediment. The rhetorical device of heniadym, which creates a similarity of grammatical form between two different elements - here cobblestones and barrows - conferred the power of the unexpected on the photograph.[42] The three small children watching quietly from a distance - a recurrent and fugitive motive in these images of Spain - hinted that the barricade was new to their memory of the city. The caption, despite seeing "overturned lorries" where none existed, stresses the haphazard speed of the barricade's construction and the urgency of obstructing the city's flow: "A street barricade of stones and overturned lorries in San Sebastian: rough defensive measures thrown up by the government forces to guard against a rebel attempt to capture the town."[43]

While the construction of barricades represented an obstacle in the syntax of the city - a figure of addition, or *figure ajonctive* in Durand's terminology - the majority of images of the city registered new absences and corresponded to Durand's *figures de suppression.*

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[40] Kevin Lynch regards continuity, along with directional quality and identifiability, as crucial to the notion of the city path. See The Image of the City, pp52-4 and p87.

[41] Illustrated London News, 15 August 1936, p271.

[42] The heniadym constitutes one of Durand's figures of exchange.

[43] A similar photograph apeared in Le Matin (8 November 1936, p1) depicting a huge barricade looming like a wall across the middle of the street, closing off the streetscape completely.

The sudden appearance of fissures in the hitherto solid surface of the earth, and the arbitrary ruptures in the city's lines of communication, proved endlessly fascinating to both the French and British press and occasioned some of their most impressive photographs. The Illustrated London News[44] for example reproduced an image of a massive bomb crater which opened up Madrid's Puerto del Sol like a gaping wound. (Fig.31). A single, bereted man stood halfway down the crater, his body a yardstick of its depth, while four officials with papers in their hands stood by on the crater's edge. Beyond them a number of civilians, curious about what lay beneath the surface of their square, crowded behind a cordon in front of the city shops; the sign "KODAK" is just discernible through the haze. In the crater, great arcs of cables swung exposed to the sky while broken pipes jutted into emptiness. The discontinuities are apparent on two levels - among the secret underground connections which ensure the city's functions, and among the surface trajectories of pedestrians and vehicles. The second of these preoccupies the caption: "A huge bomb crater in the Puerta del Sol, Madrid's principal thoroughfare: one of the effects of an air-raid reported to have killed many women and children." It is the interruption to the thoroughfare, referred to in the Daily Mail[45] and the Daily Herald[46] as "Madrid's Piccadilly," which signals the syntactical breakdown of the city at war.

Le Matin too was intrigued by the way war peeled open the city's skin. In a large photograph printed on 4 December it depicted a hole punched through the centre of a Madrid street apparently into the metro station below, revealing cables and wires and pipes normally hidden from view. The caption, in evoking the damage caused to the railway network underground, stresses the subterranean dimension to the surface disruption: "LE BOMBARDEMENT DE MADRID. - Une bombe est tombé au-dessus d'une station de métro et a complètement défoncé la chaussée." The image benefits from the power of the unexpected in its sudden exposure of what Kevin Lynch terms the "invisible conceptual linkages" of the "netherworld of the subway."[47]

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[44] Illustrated London News, 12 December 1936, p1067.

[45] Daily Mail, 28 November 1936, p20.

[46] Daily Herald, 28 November 1936, p20.

[47] Lynch, Kevin: The Image of the City, p57.

Broken bridges were the subject of almost one third of the photographs published in the French press recording the breakdown of urban syntax. An image published in L'Illustration[48] on 14 November provided a typical example despite its rural location in the context of images showing the destructiveness of war so often tied to the city. It depicted a great mass of twisted iron railings in its foreground of drying mud and stones, while on the far side of a wide river bed, waterless but for several stagnant pools, a tiny figure could just be discerned where the bridge once touched land. The caption identifies the bridge and its location, and attributes responsibility for the abrupt halt in the flow of movement between towns unequivocally to the Republican forces. "Pont de la Pedrera, sur le Guadarrama, entre Valmojado et Yuncos, que les gouvernementaux ont fait sauter."[49]

One of the most powerful images recording the breakdown of the syntax of the city was published in both the Daily Herald[50] and the Illustrated London News[51] in November, its subject a sobering measure of the destructiveness of modern war. (Fig.32). Enlarged in both cases to fill half the page, the photograph was taken at the intersection of two Madrid boulevards lined with apartment buildings; the corner building was little more than a pile of splintered timber and crumbling masonry. Not one window retained its glass. The trees lining the street had been stripped of all foliage and most of their branches; one tree lay uprooted in the middleground. Beside them three street lamps remained paradoxically intact, while a single sign still indicated an air-raid shelter. It was the roadway itself which was the most profoundly affected. While the remains of a barricade still blocked

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[48] L'Illustration, 14 November 1936, p335.

[49] Comparison of this image with a print held at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Boîte Qc. Mat 2a, Espagne 1900-80, Salle des Estampes) reveals significant differences. Captioned on the back in German with the stamp of the Presse-Bild-Zentrale and a Berlin address, it includes the figure of a uniformed soldier, perhaps a German military advisor, standing rifleless in the foreground. In the distance several more figures and two open-doored automobiles can be discerned. The caption dates the image 7.11.36, attributes it to a photographer "v. d. Becke", and states in German that the Insurgent troops had hurriedly built a road to replace missing communication links. L'Illustration's suppression of certain details - the image's provenance, and the figure in the foreground - may have derived from their sensitivity, the issue of German involvement in Spanish events of some international consequence.

[50] Daily Herald, 21 November 1936, p20.

[51] Illustrated London News, 28 November 1936, p966.

the boulevard, this human endeavour attained a certain pathos when compared with the scale of the technological onslaught which had subsequently devastated the scene. Burst watermains filled the shell-craters with stagnant water, while the thoroughfare was impassable for mud and rubble. Although the remains of the former links are visible, all transportation, all communication had abruptly ceased in this part of the city, its desolation testifying to the completeness of the syntactic rupture.

Both publications underlined the extent of the damage sustained, the Daily Herald also counting the cost in human terms:

> Homes Shattered by Rebel Bombs. First pictures to reach London from inside Madrid of the terrible destruction caused by a rebel air attack on the capital. This shattered block of flats, uprooted trees, and huge crater filled with water from wrecked watermains, give some idea of the intensity of Franco's onslaught. 1,000 people have been killed in the raids.[52]

While barricades, bombed bridges and cratered roads constituted the most dramatic signs of wartime damage to the city's syntactic coherence, comparatively minor changes to individual urban structures - the discrete units of which the city was composed - also began to register in both the French and British illustrated press as modifications to the language of the city. Alterations to these structures - damage which failed to incapacitate a particular site completely - although covered more extensively in the French than the British press, *were* recorded in the Illustrated London News with its ever-present concern for property. Under the heading: "SAN SEBASTIEN BOMBARDED FROM THE SEA BY REBEL WARSHIPS: A HOLIDAY RESORT SHELLED AND BELEAGURED" for example, the Illustrated London News[53] depicted a private home, one wall deeply gashed as a result of naval bombardment; the town's description as a holiday resort invited comparison with the tourist memories of the magazine's readers.

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[52] The Illustrated London News concentrated solely on the extent of the damage. Its headline read: "THE HAVOC OF BOMBARDMENT IN A CAPITAL: DEVASTATED MADRID," while the caption recounted the most salient examples of destruction: "The havoc wrought by General Franco's bombardment of Madrid: Lofty buildings with their facades and roofs damaged, and their windows empty of glass; the barricaded street below, a chaos of wrecked trees and débris."

[53] The Illustrated London News, 29 August 1936, p352.

Representations of the modifications to the city structures ranged in the French press from the subtle to the most flagrant. Thus Le Matin,[54] on 12 September, reproduced a photograph in which three civilian men stood together in a San Sebastián street, examining the bullet or shrapnel-holes pock-marking the base of a wall. Even without the caption's attempt to court the sensational ("Une bombe est tombé là," it reads), the physical modification remains striking. In other images the alterations were more profound. Regards[55] for instance on 3 September depicted the Maternity Hospital at Irún, its top floor completely blasted away. The angle from which the photograph was taken - from beneath the debris hanging precauriously from the upper levels - exaggerates the damage, while the caption mobilizises its readers' sentimentality in censuring the perpetrators. "Les rebelles ont bombardé la Maternité d'Irún, pleine de mères et de nouveaux-nés. Pendant le bombardement, plusieurs enfants sont venus au monde." A political agenda is written into the record of alteration to the physical city.

Modifications to the accepted order and appearance of the urban environment emerged also in photographs of the displacement of objects from their usual positions, often resulting in striking juxtapositions. Rhetorically this was equivalent to antiphrasis, in which objects were employed in unaccustomed roles, or to accumulation, whose signs were confusion and disorder. Thus on 8 August L'Illustration[56] printed a photograph of the façade of an appartment building, the windows of the upper floors filled with mattresses instead of shutters or glass. Each window had a private balcony, and decorative brickwork enhanced the upper pair, although this was endangered by gunfire which had already damaged the wall and half-obliterated the shop-signs below. A sniper stood at the bottom right-hand window, his rifle pointing upwards and resting on the edge of the mattress. As a figure of substitution, according to Durand's paradigm, the replacement of shutters with mattresses confounded customary expectations of the appearance of the city.

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[54] Le Matin, 12 September 1936, p8.

[55] Regards, 3 September 1936, p10.

[56] L'Illustration, 8 August 1936, p430.

The transformation of an apartment block into a sniping-post represented an intentional modification to an element of the physical city; other displacements of objects from their rightful positions were more arbitrary. The Daily Herald[57] and the Illustrated London News[58] both published for example an image of a number of motorcars standing smashed and open amongst a jumble of café tables. (Fig.33) In the background curious civilians stood gaping at the chaos; vehicles and tables lay surrealistically juxtaposed on the grass. The Daily Herald explained the scene in only the most elliptical terms: "Wrecked motorcars and tables from a café filled the beautiful Plaza Cataluna in Barcelona after a battle in which hundreds of people were killed and wounded." The illogicality was represented as "normal" in the Daily Herald, which accepted it as a standard characteristic of war.[59]

A similar effect was recorded in Le Matin,[60] although the impression of the irrational arose from the odd juxtaposition of objects within their customary location rather than from their dispersal outside it. Thus in a photograph captioned impassively "Les ruines de l'université d'Oviedo," an interior courtyard was shown filled with smashed masonry, rubble and bricks while the statue of a gentleman dignitary, raised on a pedestal, surveyed the chaos unperturbed. The contrast between the statue's serenity and the surrounding disorder illustrates the arbitrariness of war through the device of accumulation.

If illogicality can be said to characterise the impact of war on the physical city, as demonstrated in photographs of displacement cast in the rhetorical terms of antiphrasis and accumulation, two further sets of images registering profound changes on the urban physionomy could be described as records of the absurd. In rhetorical terms both represent variations of "antilogy," examples of internal contradiction. Such images - of city forms

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[57] Daily Herald, 25 July 1936, p16.

[58] Illustrated London News, 1 August 1936, p186.

[59] The Illustrated London News (8 August 1936, p241) recorded another such scene in which disparate articles - tins, broken bedsteads, pieces of timber - littered the roadway in absurd confusion before the Hotel Bristol.

[60] Le Matin, 12 October 1936, p1.

deprived of content, and the content of those structures deprived of form - constitute some of the most striking photographs of the civil war.

While a Regards photograph[61] depicting the devastation which remained after the relief of the Toledo Alcazar, and a Robert Capa image[62] recording the partial destruction of a Madrid building, both illustrate war's capacity to hollow out content from form, the singlemost powerful representation of this phenomenon appeared alike in the Daily Herald,[63] the Illustrated London News,[64] L'Illustration[65] (Fig.34), Le Matin,[66] Paris-Soir[67] and Vu.[68] Interestingly, the range of explanations proffered with each image prefigured the controversy that would later enshroud the events at Guernica, so painstakingly detailed by Herbert Southworth.[69] The image itself is nowhere precisely credited, though L'Illustration's attribution of photographs to "Keystone et Orcana" on the facing page suggests it might have been produced by one of these agencies; the Daily Herald's assurance that this was "a picture received in London by air last night" is little more enlightening. Taken from the remains of a square in Irún, it depicts a scene of cataclysmic devastation. Every building in sight, barring one low building on the image's right hand side, had been hollowed out completely. No door, floor, pane of glass, interior wall, ceiling, light fitting or piece of furniture remained in place in any of the six-storey buildings. All windows were gaping holes to the sky, and the same pattern was repeated as far as the eye could see to the background's distant haze. Ironically, iron-framed balconies still clung to the outer walls; collapse had taken place inside. A single truck

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[61] Regards, 8 October 1936, p9.

[62] Regards, 10 December 1936, p14.

[63] Daily Herald, 7 September 1936, p20.

[64] Illustrated London News, 12 September 1936, p348.

[65] L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p47.

[66] Le Matin, 7 September 1936, p1.

[67] Paris-Soir, 7 September 1936, p12.

[68] Vu, 9 September 1936, p1049.

[69] Southworth, Herbert: Guernica! Guernica! A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda and History.

stood abandoned in the centre of the square, its doors flung open by the explosions, or by a driver frantic for shelter. The roadway was littered with stones and rubble, while disconnected electricity cables hung limply in the street. Fire, it seems, had consumed everything - except, abitrarily perhaps, the one low building on the right. A pall of smoke hung over the scene, which was devoid of life but for the invisible presence of the cameraman, who photographed this landscape of desolation.

The emptiness of this photograph recalls Walter Benjamin's observations about the nineteenth-century French photographer Eugène Atget who, in Benjamin's view, photographed the streets of Paris like the scene of

> ...a crime. The scene of a crime too is deserted; it is photographed for the purpose of establishing evidence. With Atget, photographs became standard evidence for historical occurrences, and acquire a hidden political significance.[70]

This photograph established evidence of a particular sort - of the thoroughness with which the Irún cityscape was deprived of all content. That the *means* of its destruction could have "a hidden political significance" is made manifest in the plethora of politically-motivated explanations which appeared in the French and British press. Although historians seem to accept that Irún's defenders set parts of the town alight before themselves escaping at the eleventh hour,[71] it has also been noted that, in addition to artillery fire, the city suffered daily air raids, the German-built "Junkers 52 being prominent among the attackers."[72] Moreover, at the time of Irún's fall, it was not at all clear how the town had been destroyed, the "truth" differing depending on the publication read. Thus the Daily Herald maintained Irún had been "battered to pieces by bombs and shells of the *rebel* forces" (my italics); Paris-Soir cautiously claimed it had been "ravagé par la lutte," Vu, even more tentative, described the scene merely as "ce que les rebelles ont trouvé dans Irun," while the Illustrated London News asserted "the destruction of Irun

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[70] Cited in Sontag, Susan: On Photography, p185.

[71] In Blood of Spain, Ronald Fraser maintains that: "Before abandoning Irún, some of its defenders set fire to the town," (p189); while Hugh Thomas, in The Spanish Civil War, (p379) argues that "a detachment of anarchists from Asturias...set several parts of Irún ablaze."

[72] Thomas, Hugh: The Spanish Civil War, p377.

by its defenders, of the government forces, just before its capture by the rebels." Le Matin for its part insisted it was "les anarchistes qui veulent mettre le feu aux maisons," while L'Illustration, in opposition to the Daily Herald, insisted Irún had suffered "l'incendie de ses immeubles par les anarchisants." Incapable of proving responsibility, the image can only stand as an iconographical record of devastation, illustrating but not explaining the manner in which all content had been excavated from the city's structures until their very description as buildings became an antilogy approaching the absurd.

If antilogy obtained in the elimination of content from the structures of the city, it also occurred in the opposite transition in which content was deprived of form. Both the French and British press displayed equal fascination with scenes which illustrated the eruption of the absurd into daily urban life, and with it, the exposure of private space to public view. Vu[73] and L'Illustration[74] both published a similar photograph towards the end of 1936 echoing a variation published in the Daily Herald[75] on 20 November. In each case an apartment building five stories high stood intact but for the corner nearest the photographer. There the angled ediface had been shorn away from top to bottom as if by a knife, the corner rooms fully exposed to the street. Inside, odd domestic objects could be discerned - a woman's framed portrait still hanging on the wall, a bed still precauriously in place.[76] In each photograph a pile of débris cascaded to the roadway below, while in the rest of the building windows complete with balconies, shutters and curtains remained intact. The thin foliage of a couple of trees failed to conceal the damage in Vu and L'Illustration's pictures; the silhouettes of onlookers marvelling at the arbitrariness of destruction demonstrated the impossibility of individual privacy in the face of such overpowering technological might. Vu's caption best brings out the sense of awe that this inspired: "Un obus de gros calibre a littéralement crevé de haut en bas l'angle d'une maison de cinq étages."

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[73] Vu, 30 December 1936, p1626.

[74] L'Illustration, 28 November 1936, p382.

[75] Daily Herald, 20 November 1936, p2.

[76] See L'Illustration, 28 November 1936, p382.

The British, even more than the French, showed themselves eager to explore these instances of devastation. The Daily Herald[77] for instance published a small photograph of some impact despite the inferior quality of its printing, depicting from close quarters two rooms of a building whose façade had been obliterated. (Fig.35). On the right-hand side of the photograph, two floors remained intact despite the onslaught. A lamp hanging from the ceiling and a table, still covered by a tablecloth, standing in the centre of the room conveyed the faintly artificial air of a stage-set, as did the sideboard standing in place against an inside wall and the oval picture frames clinging tenaciously to their nails. A wooden chair balanced on what was now a precipice, while ragged curtains disintegrated where once there had been a window. On the floor above, an iron bedstead had shuddered to a halt, poised surrealistically at the edge of the now-exposed room, one foot already testing the void. The floors of the two rooms beside these had simply dropped away, leaving holes in the walls for non-existent doors. The caption registers the arbitrary violence of the air-raid, and lays unequivocal blame: "Homes Ripped to Pieces.- Wreckage of a block of flats in the old quarter of Madrid after a bombing raid by the rebels."

While the contents of the two rooms remained roughly in place, they were deprived of the sheltering form of the building itself. The exposure of ordinary private lives and "the intimate values of domestic space"[78] to anonymous public view was incontrovertibly demonstrated by the presence of the camera's prying gaze, and through it, the reader's. Thus not only was the private space of the inhabitants on view to neighbours and passing strangers in the immediate vincinity, it was opened through publication to the scrutiny of people who had never even been to Spain, and indeed to the eye of later generations by being photographically preserved. Antilogy, or absurdity, arose from the recognition of contradiction - that walls now acted as windows, floors as window ledges, that furniture balanced rather than stood, that doorways led nowhere and that roofs provided no

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[77] Daily Herald, 10 December 1936, p2.

[78] Bachelard, Gaston: The Poetics of Space, Beacon Press, Boston, 1964, p3. A similar process of exposure (in the double sense of photographic process and loss of privacy) was recorded in an Illustrated London News image on 29 August 1936 (p352); in a photograph published in Paris-Soir (10 August 1936, p1), the photographer even penetrated into the livingroom of a damaged home.

protection from the elements. Any notion of the home as shelter and private domain was negated by the experience of modern war.

Perhaps the most dramatic photographs illustrating the devastation of the physical city were those depicting the process of its destruction. Technical and logistical difficulties meant that such representations were rare; more often destruction was photographed from a distance and became symbolic, or metonymic. Like the air-raid photographs, the distanced view entailed a proportional loss of the sensory aspects of war, the heat and dust and "dry-throat thirst" that Hemingway so lamented for being absent from the film he had made with Boris Ivens, The Spanish Earth.[79] For just as the aerial view turned physical destruction into abstract sign,[80] so too did the horizontal, distant view transform the process of devastation into symbol; and as with the aerial view, the greater the distance, the more abstract the symbol became.

Thus during the month of September Le Matin,[81] L'Illustration,[82] and the Daily Mail[83] all reproduced photographs depicting the destruction of Irún, all taken from across the Bidassoa River on safe, French soil. In each case the burning city was represented by clouds of smoke rising into a mass which obscured the mountain ridge beyond. The flames themselves were suggested by a band of brightness running parallel to the shore; any details of the buildings themselves were lost in the hazy distance. While L'Illustration's caption concentrated on perspective: "Irun en flammes telle qu'on la vue du rivage français", the Daily Mail used the occasion to reassert its pro-Franquist position: "Irun in flames after capture. The fires were not caused by shot or shell. Anarchists drenched the town in petrol and set it alight." The nature of the photograph itself

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[79] Hemingway, Ernest: "The Heat and the Cold: Remembering Turning the Spanish Earth," in Cunningham, Valentine (ed): Spanish Front: Writers on the Spanish Civil War, p208.

[80] Paul Fussell reproduces an excellent example of this in The Great War and Modern Memory, p66, in an aerial photograph in which shell craters, railway lines and trenches are legible to the ordinary viewer only through the aid of a legend.

[81] Le Matin, 6 September 1936, p1.

[82] L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p46.

[83] Daily Mail, 5 September 1936, p16.

paradoxically abstracted its very subject. The image at once depicted and failed to depict the city's destruction, its symbolic representation communicating little of the scale of devastation.[84]

More successful were those photographs which attempted to capture the very instant of impact, collapse or explosion, deriving impact from judicious timing. Thus an image of "Rebel bombs exploding in a house near the Toledo Bridge in Madrid," which appeared in the Daily Herald[85] on 21 November, was able to convey some of the excitement of the moment by capturing smoke-clouds billowing across the roadway, and a truck rushing headlong towards the scene. Yet even this was undermined somewhat by the presence of curious by-standers calmly watching the drama unfold. Instead it was the gradual destruction of the Toledo Alcazar, submitted to months of sniping, mining and bombardment, which most captured the photographers' attention, partly because of its symbolic power, and partly because of its distinctive form which made attacks upon it so dramatic, and so photogenic.

Both Paris-Soir[86] and the Illustrated London News[87] frequently published pictures of the walls and remaining tower of the fortress partially obscured by smoke and dust; an image in Le Matin,[88] however, came closest to surpassing the merely metonymic. Slightly out of focus, its lack of definition conferring authenticity, the photograph captured the last remaining tower of the Alcazar poised at an awkward angle, in the very process of collapse. The damaged rooftops and leafless trees of Toledo provided a sympathetic foreground to the fortress's demise, blurred behind billowing smoke, while the caption

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[84] An even more abstracted example of the symbolic representation of destruction appeared in the Illustrated London News (5 September 1936, p21). A series of faint smudges on the horizon above a valley filled with cornfields and pine forests represented the bombardment of a town (Irún) completely hidden from view. The smoke clouds became a metonym for war's destruction requiring a caption to rescue them from meaninglessness.

[85] Daily Herald, 21 November 1936, p2. The same image appeared a week later in L'Illustration on the cover of its issue for 28 November 1936.

[86] See for example: Paris-Soir, 21 September 1936, p12.

[87] Illustrated London News, 26 November 1936, p521.

[88] Le Matin, 21 November 1936, p10.

acknowledged the image's special value: "...cette photographie qui a été prise au moment précis où sautait la dernière tour de l'Alcazar de Tolède qu'on aperçoit à gauche, constitue un document unique." Offering no explanation as to why "La censure du gouvernement espagnol en avait jusqu'à ce jour interdit la publication," Le Matin included the statement perhaps to justify the image's publication almost two months after the Insurgents had lifted the siege. Although the power of the captured instant brought it closer than most other similar representations to escaping the limitations of metonym, not even this photograph could entirely avoid its metaphorical destiny.

Photographs like these, and indeed all those which recorded the physical evidence of destruction to the urban landscape, represent a continuation of one of photography's earliest and most enduring roles: the conscientious recording of a disappearing present in order to rescue it from oblivion - a sign of photography's conservative tryst with nostalgia. Proof of existence, scored into the very act of recording, was the *raison d'être* as much of Eugène Atget's thirty-year career devoted to the documentation of "a small-scale, time-worn Paris that was vanishing," as of war-photography anywhere, where the process of obliteration is so much more accelerated and the desire for at least photographic preservation becomes an end in itself. The French and British press photographs of the widespread devastation to the physical city in Spain testify to a *mentalité* in which the impulse to record at least the remains of former structures, and to document their demolition, was as deeply felt as the desire to visualise vicariously the effects of modern war.

That a nostalgic, even romantic, impulse influenced the work of at least one photographer can be seen in an image - the final one in this discussion - published in the Illustrated London News[89] in August, a similar version having already appeared in Le Matin.[90] Eschewing the drama of war's captured instant, the image was meditative and almost timeless. Taken in the shadow of the Toledo Alcazar, it pictured the nearby Zodocover Square, damaged almost beyond recognition. Recalling the romantic penchant for classical

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[89] Illustrated London News, 29 August 1936, p346.

[90] Le Matin, 3 August 1936, p3.

ruins, it focused upon the square's one remaining arch and the surrounding columns which had been felled like trees in the fighting, their stumps alone left standing. A small well stood in the centre of the square, most of its protective railing long since blasted away. Nearby facades crumbled elegantly towards the centre while a few chairs lay aesthetically twisted in the foreground. A couple of small trees remained standing, their ragged foliage still clinging to life. The magazine's caption matched the romanticism of the image with heroism: "Havoc of War in Toledo. Ruins of the Zodocover Square, battered to pieces by artillery during the siege of rebel cadets and civil guards in the Alcazar, where the defenders held out for weeks." In the eyes of the Illustrated London News, the grand passions for which these ruins - and others like them all over Spain - had been the theatre unquestionably merited so sublime and tragic a stage.[91]

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That the French and British press of all political persuasions shared an iconographical language in their depiction of war's impact on the physical city masks the differing ideological motivations underlying such apparent unanimity. Although all parties could agree in implicitly condemning war's violence, their reasons for doing so were far from transparent. For the pro-Insurgent press, the generalised, seemingly apolitical condemnation of war had in fact a deeply political pedigree in the context of a non-intervention agreement which favoured the Insurgent camp in effect if not in intention. To support non-intervention by fostering pacificism within public opinion in Britain and France through images of the devastation of war was also, paradoxically, to support Franco and the sympathetic dictatorships being given a free hand in Spain. For the pro-Republican press of both nations, wartime destruction was implicitly and unequivocally blamed upon Insurgent activities in Spain resulting from the generals' coup; their subtext urged an end to non-intervention which in practice disadvantaged the Republican side.

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[91] The representation of damaged buildings in the style of classical ruins for political ends was not exclusive to the Spanish Civil War. An album of photographs dating from the Paris Commune also makes the ravaged Tuileries Palace look "'sublime' and tragic in the manner of the ruins of ancient Greece or Rome," as if "the classical heritage of civilized Europe [lay] in ruins, wasted by barbarian vandals." See Doy, Gen: "The Camera Against the Paris Commune" in Dennett, Terry, and Jo Spence (eds): Photography/Politics: One, p19.

The photographs of destruction to the physical city could achieve no leverage for either side, however, without implying or explictly demonstrating divergence from an accepted ideal. The copious quantities of location photographs - file shots of monuments, architectural treasures and random cities of Spain taken before the outbreak of hostilities and which filled the pages of the French press - constituted a yardstick which the British press chose not to exploit. Instead, the press in British drew comparisons with its own reality, so that the Puerto del Sol for example became "Madrid's Piccadilly", or else relied upon tourist memory of those readers (chiefly Illustrated London News subscribers) fortunate enough to have travelled. Such appeals underlay epithets such as that describing San Sebastián as "a beleagured holiday resort," and explained in part the concentration of both the French and British press on Barcelona's classy Hotel Colon.

As Paul Fussell has recognised in the writings of the First World War, reference to pastoral imagery and fantasy was "an English mode of fully gauging the calamities of the Great War and imaginatively protecting oneself against them."[92] The fact that, as he notes, the war was fought in the rural outdoors helped render this arcadian recourse particularly appropriate.[93] No such pervasive tradition existed as a measure by which to gauge the calamities of the Spanish Civil War; thus deviation from concepts of an idealized urban normality inherent in photographs of ruined Spanish cities furnished the standard for both Britain and France. It is precisely this which renders the semiological analogy so fruitful to this study. If, as Durand wrote, all figures of rhetoric may be analysed as the mock transgressions of some norm, then these transgressions may be scrutinised for the norms or ideals they necessarily imply and symbiotically embody.

Thus it seems that French and British cultural conceptions of urban normality bore many fundamental similarities. To both peoples the city was by definition a highly-organised space of relative functional stability in which sites were geared to specific purposes, and within which even the most insignificant objects had an appropriate place. Images of the city showing the homologic transformation in function of particular buildings (churches,

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[92] Fussell, Paul: The Great War and Modern Memory, p235.

[93] Fussell writes: "Since war takes place outdoors and always within nature, its symbolic status is that of the ultimate anti-pastoral." See: The Great War and Modern Memory, p231.

aristocratic homes, hotels), and recording often arbitrary and absurd displacements (the antiphrasis of displaced mattresses, cafe tables and cars), were measures of divergence of accepted norms. To both peoples the city was also defined by its continuities, by its networks of transport and communications which formed a logical syntax linking the discrete units of the urban environment. Countless photographs recorded the transgression of this ideal through the rhetorical asyndeton, or syntactical break, demonstrated through figures of addition (the barricade), and suppression (bomb craters, destroyed bridges, impassable streets). Not only was the city defined by stability and continuity, it also possessed a certain integrity which presupposed a correspondence between its structural forms and their functions. The antilogy, or illogicality which obtained when this relationship was undermined by war gave rise to photographs of massive buildings standing hollow as shells, and to its inverse, in which the private domain was exposed to public view as entire building facades were shorn away. Thus to the conception of the city's integrity of form must be added the privacy which its inhabitants expected to find therein, and the security they considered guaranteed. The subversion of this security was recorded in images depicting metonymically the process of destruction, and was implied in every photograph taken from the air.

In meticulously detailing the erosion of the concept of the city - its stability, continuity, integrity, privacy, and security - the French and British press were effectively reinforcing notions cherished by the collective *mentalité*, defending human values against the absurdity of urban life in war. At the same time they were conducting a battle for perspective, reaffirming the human scale against the abstract depersonalisation of technological war epitomized by the aerial photograph, insisting that the ground-level, human vision truly mattered. The supreme irony, however, lies in the recognition that, even in 1930s Britain and France, the values of stability, continuity, integrity, privacy and security, against which developments in Spain were consistently measured, were for the most part little more than an urban dream, their reality far from universally shared; ultimately these images of the battle-scarred cities of Spain amounted to little more than the projection of a cultural ideal.

CHAPTER 3: THE ELUSIVE IDEAL: THE CIVILIANS
PART B: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CIVILIAN LIFE

In their discussion of the nature of the anthropological enterprise, Melissa Banta and Curtis M. Hinsley describe the "common structure of experience" which underlies the disparate activities of anthropological research. They evoke "the essential ebb and flow of anthropology", which involves a periodic movement from the researchers' cultural home to the anthropological periphery and back again with their findings, and maintain that "anthropologists still travel a polar universe in search of knowledge."[1] The same pattern, it could be argued, distinguished the work of the foreign press photographers who went to Spain during the civil war. Like anthropologists, the photographers moved out of their cultural centre into the "alien environment" and sent home "new knowledge" in the form of images.[2]

But the photographic enterprise, like the anthropological, is fraught with complexity. Images returned equally by photographic anthropologists and press photographers frequently "reflected the interests and supported the hypotheses of the anthropologist/image-maker,"[3] and provided a clearer indication of the photographer's own concerns than they did those of his or her subjects. Just as images of the city at war articulated culturally-engendered concepts of urban life predominant in Britain and France, so too can the representation of civilian life in civil war Spain be seen as the expression of preconceived notions about that society current in Britain and France. Moreover, these photographs can also be seen as implying through transgression a utopian vision shared to a remarkable extent by both nations; although inflected according to the political

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[1] Banta, Melissa and Hinsley, Curtis M.: From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography and the Power of Imagery, Peabody Museum Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1986, p20.

[2] In three articles for Semiotica, D. Tomas characterises the anthropologist's use of photography in fieldwork as itself a ritual process. See his: "The Ritual of Photography", Semiotica, 40, 1/2, 1982, pp1-25; "A Mechanism for Meaning: Ritual and the Photographic Process," Semiotica, 46, 1, 1983, pp1-39; and "Ritual Performance and the Photographic Process", Semiotica, 68, 3/4, 1988, pp245-70.

[3] Banta, Melissa and Curtis M. Hinsley: From Site to Sight, p11.

preference of the magazine or paper that published them, they presupposed nonetheless an ideal life used as a measure or war's disruptiveness in Spain.

The fact that photographers in Spain rarely took their cameras indoors, into the private interior of the Spanish home, meant that it was only the public face of individual lives that was ever explored. The photographers showed no interest in the precise material conditions in which the population lived, nor in the particularities of region, class or economic standing which might also have yielded insights into civilian experience of war. Spanish society was viewed almost exclusively through the family unit,[4] its interraction a series of rituals both long-established and new. These patterns of behaviour were shown to have been disrupted or altered by the advent of war, adapting to it or continuing despite it. Through such images the British were able to visualise a war immediately present, as the 1914-18 war had not been for them, within the fabric of family life; the French in contrast perhaps recognised in Spain events that corresponded to their own more recent history, the First World War fought on their soil and touching their families in a manner equally immediate. Nevertheless, the photographs of Spanish civilian life published in the French and British press displayed considerable correlation in the subjects selected for represention; this chapter will suggest that the reasons for these correspondences were predominantly cultural, and that ideological concerns were necessarily subordinated to them.

How then did the British and French press portray the impact of war on the structure and functioning of Spanish society? How was this representation rendered political? To what extent did the press photographs explain these changes to civilian life? And finally, to what extent can the iconography of civilian life in Spain offer insights into the dominant *mentalité* of Britain and France, and into the preoccupations of their own societies? These questions shall be explored through the notions of family and ritual, and through the patterns of domest⌣icity, labour, leisure and religion, so predominant in the foreign press' photographic representation of civilian life in wartime Spain.

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[4] Judith Williamson, in "The History That Photographs Mislaid," argues that advertising photographs which focus on the family often "play a major role in the denial of class." See Dennett, Terry and Jo Spence: Photography/Politics: One, p59. It could be argued that the French and British press' concentration on the family in Spain fulfilled a similar function.

Before doing so, however, it is important to remember that the impression of resilience, increased frequency or suspension of civilian rituals was largely determined by editorial choice guided by political considerations. For ritual could be created by the camera, and the repeated publication of a certain type of image could itself imply frequency where none existed, and convey a political message based upon representational illusion. The decision of the French and British press, regardless of political affiliation, to amplify a particular aspect of civilian life was due at least as much to its correspondence with their own preconceived notions as it was to its predominance in Spain; these notions in turn were privileged because calculated to achieve the greatest propagandist influence in Britain and France.

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The family unit was the one element of Spanish society which could be used to show most effectively the social effects of war in a press seeking to draw lessons from the Spanish experience which could easily be translated across borders. By emphasizing through the family the similarities rather than the differences between Spain on the one hand, and Britain or France on the other, a seemingly innocuous representation could be rendered deeply political. But to do so it was necessary to portray the family unfailingly as victims, the unit itself in constant danger of obliteration. Nowhere was there the concept of the family as "a major institution of resistance" as Jean Franco describes its counterpart in contemporary Latin America, where "the family has been a powerful rival to the state" and the role of the mother, paramount in this resistance.[5] Instead, for the French and British press, the family became one of the chief measures of the destructiveness of war.

One of the most potent photographs to reach the pages of the illustrated press depicted not just disturbance to but indeed the breakdown of the behavioural norms embodied by the traditional concepts of the family. Attributed by David Mellor, in his catalogue essay

[5] Franco, Jean: "Killing Priests, Nuns, Women, Children" in Blonsky, M.: On Signs, p416.

for the photographic exhibition No Pasaran!,[6] to L'Illustration's photographer Georges Ham, this image was reproduced in the Daily Mail[7] and Reynolds' News[8] in Britain after appearing in Paris-Soir[9] and L'Illustration[10] earlier in August. (Fig.36). In each case the caption inflected the image's contents into the political response appropriate to each publication. In the photograph a three-year-old girl wearing a floral dress, apron and hair-ribbon smiled for the camera while giving the Republican salute, grasping a revolver in her right hand. The impact of the image was intensified by the inclusion of the girl's grandmother and mother, the one holding the child in her arms, the other dressed herself in the trousers, cap and scarf of militia uniform, condoning if not encouraging the child's behaviour. Between the mother and grandmother stood two young men, the foremost carrying a rifle and two ammunition boxes at his waist, smiling beyond the photographer. The whole scene was captured, according to L'Illustration's caption, "En famille dans la cour de la caserne de la Montana," the barracks' arched courtyard symmetrically framing the family group. Reynolds' News' caption does not succeed in allaying the shock of an image representing a female child wielding a firearm, despite its assertion that "the clenched fist is the answer of Spanish Girls to the Fascist Challenge"; L'Illustration's caption implied that such behaviour was common in Spain and allowed readers to draw their own conclusions. The Daily Mail for its part made its disapproval clear: "Another form of the salute. A baby girl in Madrid in her mother's arms, with pistol and clenched fist. This is an all-red family." What each caption shares is the recognition that civil war had affected - indeed politicized - the family unit and that such behaviour contravened social norms widely accepted in both Britain and France.

While civil war was seen as disruptive to "normal" behaviour patterns within the family, it was also frequently depicted as dismantling the very structure of the family itself.

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[6] Mellor, David: "Death in the Making: Representing the Spanish Civil War", No Pasaran! Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War, p30.

[7] Daily Mail, 12 August 1936, p16.

[8] Reynolds' News, 30 August 1936, p4.

[9] Paris-Soir, 2 August 1936, p6.

[10] L'Illustration, 8 August 1936, p433.

Numerous photographs depicted men parting for the front, leaving the women alone or in charge of babies.[11] Others portrayed the family elliptically, the image of a grandparent alone with very young children marking the elimination of the intervening generation through the vicissitudes of war.[12] Indeed the fate of children in war provided one of the central themes in the French press' representation of civilian life, the emotive and political implications of such imagery exploited chiefly by the pro-Republican press, in contrast with the British publications which scarcely featured children at all.

The French illustrated magazine Vu[13] for example published a highly emotive image of a small girl in a white dress and thin jacket standing before an elderly couple, her face crumpling in tears. With a gesture of sympathy the old woman reached down to comfort the child. A younger sister stood behind the small girl while the man stooped forward, frail and with thinning hair, to stroke the young girl's head with a solicitude mirroring his wife's. The caption was overtly sentimental:

> - Maman!...Maman!...Mais la mère, hélas! ne saurait plus répondre. Des voisins apitoyés consolent la malheureuse orpheline, à la robe toute blanche. Désormais, la fillette ne pourra plus compter que sur la solidarité des autres. C'est ça, voyez-vous, la guerre civile.

The image of the distraught, abandoned child separated from its parents became a leitmotif in the French press, as a Paris-Soir image of a little girl crying in the ruins of Irún further suggested (Fig.37);[14] such photographs made an emotional appeal to the reader while testifying to the breakdown of the family group in time of war. Yet images of civil war's disruption to the tranquillity of childhood were matched by others detailing its continuity. Regards was the chief publisher of such photographs, reproducing on 3

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[11] Cf Regards, 20 August 1936, p6; 27 August 1936, p6; Reynolds' News, 13 September 1936, p24; Match, 2 February 1939, p48.

[12] Cf Illustrated London News, 24 October 1936, p731; Regards, 15 October 1936, p4.

[13] Vu, 14 October 1936, p1029.

[14] Paris-Soir, 26 September 1936, p14. See also Regards, 8 October 1936, p10; and Paris-Soir, 2 August 1936, p12 and 23 August 1936, p10.

September[15] a picture of a class of school children taking their lessons outside. Wearing what resembled swimming costumes, the pupils sat attentively at low tables and chairs while their female teacher was busy at the blackboard. The schoolroom had been shifted to the courtyard suggesting the liberalisation of education under the revolution which accompanied the early months of civil war; as such the photograph was an image of defiance in the face of war's disruption, and an assertion of the Republicans' commitment to education and culture as the caption implies: "Pour les enfants dont les parents sont au front des écoles de plein air ont été organisées par le Gouvernement espagnol."

Nor were children spared political involvement. While Ronald Fraser's Blood of Spain provides ample evidence of the early politicization of Spanish children during civil war,[16] the illustrated press provided visual confirmation of this development. A photograph taken by Chim and printed in Regards[17] on 22 October for example depicted a row of children's dolls dressed in militia uniform displayed in a shop window; another[18] captured four young boys in full Insurgent uniform selling copies of the Insurgent newspaper "La Légion", Franco's portrait on the cover. A photograph published in both Le Matin[19] on October 7 and in Reynolds' News[20] on October 11, however, demonstrated most clearly of all the extent to which children were politicised by civil war. (Fig.38).

Three columns of boys were depicted parading past the camera dressed in home-made uniforms, each wearing shorts or trousers and a roll-neck pullover onto which had been emblazoned a large, five-pointed star and the hammer and sickle emblem. Some wore

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[15] Regards, 3 September 1936, p10.

[16] In one example Fraser records a child of six who scandalised her parents by insisting on wearing a pair of overalls on which the initials UHP (United Proletarian Brothers) were embroidered. See Blood of Spain, p457.

[17] Regards, 22 October 1936, p6.

[18] Regards, 17 September 1936, p7.

[19] Le Matin, 7 October 1936, p1.

[20] Reynolds' News, 11 October 1936, p4.

militia-caps, and the boys in the two outer columns carried makeshift rifles. Proud parents gathered on the edge of the roadway watching their sons march by; a lad too young to join his fellows stood and saluted the photographer. While Le Matin's caption effectively diminished the boys' apparent commitment by calling them "children" merely on parade with dummy rifles ("des enfants défilent dans les rues de Madrid, un fusil de bois sur l'épaule"), Reynolds' News amplifies their action into an heroic gesture: "While Rebel forces threaten Madrid, young patriots in the city stage a demonstration to show their loyalty to the Republic." Thus not only were children drawn into the polarised politics of Spain, images of them were used as photographic ammunition in the propaganda war being waged beyond Spanish shores.[21]

While disruption to the family, the loss or absence of some of its members, and the abandonment or politicisation of children, all represented various forms of the breakdown of the family idyll which impressed themselves on both the British and French, no images proved more striking than those of Insurgent entry into the villages north of Seville. Representing the village unit as an extension of the family group, these photographs stood as paradigms of the severe dislocation war brought to civilian life, each embued with considerable emotional power.[22] One of the most striking such images appeared in Vu[23] which credited it to Serrano on 19 August; it was subsequently reproduced in the Daily Worker[24] on the 20th, reproduced courtesy of the Daily Express, and in L'Illustration[25] (Fig.39) on the 22nd with a Keystone agency credit. Taken from the Insurgent soldier's perspective, it depicts a company of Nationalist troops taking over the village of Constantina just north of Seville. In full uniform and with rifles raised, they marched

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[21] Similar images appeared in the Illustrated London News on 14 November 1936, p853 and on 24 October 1936, p730, in which young girls were also depicted parading behind the hammer and sickle flag.

[22] Photographs providing variations on this theme appeared in L'Illustration, 15 August 1936, p461, and Paris-Soir, 12 August 1936, p1. Images of a peasant couple at the mercy of Insurgent soldiers invading their village appeared in the Daily Herald, 7 September 1936, p1; Paris-Soir, 8 September 1936, p10; Vu, 9 September 1936, p1049, and L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p48.

[23] Vu, 19 August 1936, p962.

[24] Daily Worker, 20 August 1936, p1.

[25] L'Illustration, 22 August 1936, p483.

down the main road of the village in the blazing sun, uneven cobblestones underfoot. Village women huddled in groups on the shady side of the street, vulnerable, their arms raised or outstretched in supplication. Most still wore their aprons as if interrupted at domestic tasks; one woman carried a child in her arms as she crossed the street to join her fellow villagers. In the background still more women emerged from their doorways. A small dog could just be discerned in the centre of the image, its freedom contrasting with the women standing rigid with terror. Only an old woman in black refused to beg for mercy. Her head covered by a scarf, she stooped behind the younger women on the left-hand side of the street, rheumatism or pride preventing her from throwing up her hands in surrender. A woman on the image's centre-left imbued the scene with particular power, the cry on her face and the anguish in her outstretched arms approaching an eternal statement about the nature of war. That only two civilian men were visible in this image of female suffering suggests that fear had sent them into hiding, or that they had long since joined the militias, or been killed. War brought segregation, if not permanent dismemberment, to village as to family life.

The captions to this photograph in its various contexts of publication reveal the fragile nature of photographic evidence and its tenuous relationship with the "truth"; what is clearly revealed is what each side wanted its public to believe, and how these publications manipulated imagery to such ends. Thus Vu evoked the reader's sympathy for the villagers by contrasting the inhabitants' submissiveness with Insurgent ruthlessness: "Des insurgés viennent de pénétrer dans un petit village aux environs de Séville. Des paysans, levant les bras, se soumettant. Combien d'entre eux seront passés par les armes, pour l'exemple?" The Daily Worker used the photograph to shock by implying Insurgent atrocities: "IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN YOUR MOTHER OR YOUR WIFE," its heading read, while the caption, overlaid across the greatly enlarged image, described the scene as: "The beginning of the Badajoz Horror. Women pray for mercy as Fascist Foreign Legionaires enter the little town of Constantina. The troops ran amok," it continues. "2,000 people in Badajoz, most of them Catholics, were butchered in squads by Moors and criminals. Men and women were shot by fascists on the altar steps, where as devout Catholics they had sought sanctuary." L'Illustration's explanation emphasized *Republican* barbarity: "Vision poignante: dans le village où les troupes gouvernementales, avant de

se replier, ont fusillé une centaine de suspects, les insurgés sont accueillis par les femmes implorant la vie sauve pour les hommes qui restent." Although the explanations differed, the members of the image's fundamental schema remained unchanged - the representation village and family life buckling under the impact of war.[26]

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If war's disruption to the structure of civilian life was made explicit in the French and British press in photographs of children, the family and the village, the functioning of wartime society - represented overwhelmingly in the form of age-old rituals - proved equally fascinating to the press in both nations. Continuity and adaptation of existing behavioural patterns, whether concerned with domestic tasks, labour, leisure or religion, figured as prominently in press photographs as outright disruption, and developed political connotations appropriate to the publications which produced them.

An extraordinary number of photographs were devoted to the traditionally female duties of procuring food and fresh water for the family group, and more occasionally to the tasks of washing clothes. The French and British press of both persuasions largely conformed in their representation of the way in which these tasks were transformed by war, altered from active to passive activities. Female control for example over such duties as purchasing food effectively devolved to men, as a photograph in Paris-Soir[27] bore witness. A female official was pictured sitting at a table with two men, a third overseeing procedures while two more stood aside, one in a military cap, the other in a more formal suit. The man sitting at the table opposite her, his head bowed apologetically, was being issued a ration card: "Redistribution de cartes de viande à la population Madrilène." That

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[26] A second, similar photograph (Fig.40) appeared in L'Illustration on 15 August 1936, (p468), in the Illustrated London News on 29 August (p351), and in the Daily Worker on 5 September (p1), printed in each case uncredited. Similar in structure to the previous image, this photograph was taken from the perspective of the Insurgent soldiers entering Tocina, north-east of Seville, and showed only the village's male inhabitants huddled against a wall, their arms raised in surrender, probably fearing reprisal. One young man stood with his arms outstretched to protect his fellows; another, perhaps wounded, lay across the footpath, his clench-fisted arm extended in defiance. Like the Constantina image, this photograph speaks eloquently about the effect of warfare on the structure and patterns of civilian life.

[27] Paris-Soir, 17 October 1936, p1.

it should require five officials, only one of them female, to allocate a single card, and that to a male rather than a female family member, is an indication of the new divisions of responsibility within the family and a measure of how far at least one of the rituals of domesticity had altered under the conditions of war.

Most common were photographs of food queues, which became an emblem of civilian life in wartime Spain. Madrid citizens interviewed by Ronald Fraser recalled that lines for food and milk became a factor of civilian life soon after the outbreak of war and that they were formed as early as 7 a.m. by those hoping to obtain at least some provisions later in the day. Family members took turns waiting, and one interviewee, Alvarez Delgado, remembered that the queue was "where people talked...and experienced a new kind of revolutionary fervour. Everyone was addressed as "tu", there were no ties, no hats to be seen, everyone appeared to be wearing sandals."[28] Both the Daily Mail and the Illustrated London News in Britain displayed considerable concern over food supplies. Both however seemed to ignore the potential of the queues they photographed for forging solidarity and strengthening a community's ties. Reproducing the same archetypal image during the month of August,[29] both publications saw only a new, officially regulated passivity replacing the active ritual of marketing.

In this image, a group of women and children stood in line in front of a Merida building, many of the women, including the youngest with babies in their arms, dressed in the black of mourning. The queue was presided over by a uniformed soldier. Some of the women seemed anxious, perhaps worried that supplies would run out before their turn. An old woman sat slumped against the wall while a stray dog idly scratched himself in the middle of the footpath. The Illustrated London News's caption expressed concern about maintaining supplies: "A bread queue in Merida: the growing shortage of foodstuffs in various Spanish war zones exemplified by this photograph of women awaiting supplies after being cut off from them by the desperate fighting for possession of the town." The Daily Mail for its part focused on the eventual arrival of the provisions which Insurgent

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[28] Cited in Fraser, Ronald: Blood of Spain, p458.

[29] Daily Mail, 27 August 1936, p10, and the Illustrated London News, 29 August 1936, p344.

victory had supposedly facilitated: "A picture received yesterday of women and children at Merida, which was captured recently by the Southern Anti-Reds, assembling to get their bread rations." Political inflections aside, both publications were concerned alike with the adaptation of civilian ritual to the imposed conditions of war.[30]

Numerous images of water-ration queues took an almost identical form and expressed the same fascination with civilian tasks adapted to wartime restrictions. Lines of women, often accompanied by children, were photographed with the rustic earthenware vessels of traditional Spain so appealing to foreign photographers of all political persuasions.[31] Regards,[32] however, on 1 October, printed a photograph taking one step further the notion of war's disruption to the peacetime method of food provisioning. At the same time it represented a resistance among the inhabitants to the tedium of a rationing system which was beginning to govern their lives. Unusual for its angle and focus, this photograph portrayed a row of small tins and jars lined up in orderly fashion against the nearest wall. The worn white stonework and pannelled door beside the jars suggests the vulnerability of their positioning and the trust which kept them in place unattended. The caption explains their purpose: "Afin d'éviter les longues attentes devant les laiteries, les habitants de Tolède marquent leur place par des pots, des cailloux portant leurs noms." The exceptional circumstances of war called for ingenuity in tackling them; as such, this metonymic photograph captured not only the changes and necessary civilian adaptations to war's exigencies, but also something of the human response to these altered conditions. Within the frame of this photograph was traced an evolution, a new ritual growing out of the imposed one which in turn had replaced the original.

While images of queues of women waiting in line for rations represented the adaptation of the public face of domestic life, photographs of women doing the weekly wash at the edge of a river or a village trough symbolised the maintenance of civilian ritual despite

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[30] Similar images appeared for example in Paris-Soir, 24 October 1936, p16; Le Matin, 24 October 1936, p10; Match, 17 November 1938, p19; the Daily Mail, 27 August 1936, p10; and the Illustrated London News, 31 October 1936, p772 and 8 August 1936, p240.

[31] Cf Regards, 15 October 1936, p4; L'Illustration, 19 September 1936, p70; and the Daily Mail, 28 August 1936, p16.

[32] Regards, 1 October 1936, p5.

the advent of war. Such photographs appeared only in the pro-Republican press, Regards'[33] version indicating how even so innocuous an image could be rendered clearly political. Here a group of village women in aprons, wide peasant skirts and headscarves were depicted lined up on either side of a large communal trough. With their sleeves rolled up to their elbows the women were hard at work washing mounds of clothing by hand, a small pail of fresh water beside each. Beyond these women village life continued in its time-worn patterns, a little boy sitting astride a mule, and a peasant burdened with firewood and straw, conforming to popular notions of peasant life to which the spire of a stone church and the characteristic tiled rooves of the houses also contributed.

Yet the fact that these washing women had supposedly stopped in their task to salute the photographer with (for Regards) gratifyingly Republican fervour injects an immediate political message into the image of traditional Spain. The caption exploits the technique even further, asserting that the women were in fact washing clothes for soldiers at the front: "Dans les villages près du Front, les femmes travaillent dans les services de l'arrière: Voici des laveuses saluant, le poing levé, l'auto de notre correspondante Margarita Nelken."[34] Thus the image of an age-old ritual continuing despite the proximity of war became, when invested with a Republican symbolism and context, a clear political statement.[35]

While photographs concerned with the availability of food and water supplies appeared with greater frequency in the pro-Insurgent than the pro-Republican press in both nations, in each case the continuity alone of such domestic tasks conferred upon them a political significance. Such continuity bespoke a certain heroism on the part of the civilian

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[33] Regards, 13 August 1936, p5.

[34] Margarita Nelken (1898-1968) was also at this time a Republican deputy, elected to the Cortes in 1936 along with Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria) and Victoria Kent Siano - a fact which may better explain her fame than any work she performed as a correspondent for Regards. See Kern, Robert "Margarita Nelken: Women and the Crisis of Spanish Politics" in Slaughter, Jane and Robert Kern (eds): European Women of the Left: Socialism, Feminism and the Problems Faced by Political Women 1800 to the Present, Greenwood Press, London, 1981, pp147-62.

[35] This image recalls another published in the Daily Worker (16 October 1936, p3) depicting two civilian women washing clothes in the protective presence of a Republican soldier. See above, Chapter 2: Part A: The Republican Militiamen, p69.

population, a courage born of persistence amid hardship which the pro-Republican press considered inflicted by Insurgent belligerency, and the pro-Insurgent press saw as an inevitable by-product of war. It was, however, in the patterns of labour, whether of urban or rural life, that the political implications of continuity and disruption were most clearly articulated; the French and British pro-Republican press constantly asserted such continuities for political gain. With the possible exception of Match, the French pro-Insurgent press on the whole privileged images of discontinuity, generally blaming the Republican forces for disrupting the rituals of work; the subject was barely mentioned in the British pro-Nationalist press.

Regards represented the notion of the continuity of civilian labour from a multiplicity of peasant and proletarian angles. On 20 August[36] it depicted seven workmen constructing a viaduct with a caption which stressed above all the continuation of pre-war activities: "À Madrid, le travail continue normalement, avec les ouvriers qui ne sont pas sur le front. Ci-dessus, des ouvriers occupés au nouveau viaduct en construction," while the Daily Herald published a photograph of a young milkboy, so patent a feature of *British* civilian life, continuing his rounds regardless.[37] Other images showed labour patterns adapted to the exigencies of war: photographs in Regards[38] and the Daily Herald[39] showing workmen digging trenches on the outskirts of Madrid, rather than digging drainage ditches within the city itself, were illustrations of this, as were photographs in Regards[40] of male and female factory workers continuing production but manufacturing new products - chiefly armaments. Images of the broad continuities of peasant labour[41] were used to

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[36] Regards, 20 August 1936, p7.

[37] Daily Herald, 10 October 1936, p10. The caption reads: "On the Sierra de Guadarrama trenches are hastily dug, while in Madrid the milkboy does his usual round..."

[38] Regards, 15 October 1936, p7.

[39] Daily Herald, 10 October 1936, p10; 7 November 1936, p2.

[40] Regards, 10 September 1936, p9; 24 December 1936, pp10-11.

[41] See for example Le Matin, 15 December 1936, p8, and Regards, 8 October 1936, p8. In both images, peasants are depicted at work in the fields, either with weapons at their side or just laid down. In both, the age-old rituals of peasant labour continue although war now impinges at its edge.

suggest the eternal values of the Spanish people now threatened by war, as Regards was to demonstrate, in perhaps its clearest visual assertion of this notion, on 31 December.[42]

A spread of four overlapping photographs appeared in the magazine under the heading: "Une Orange est une Cartouche, par Pla y Beltran," and recorded the harvest ritual in the orange-growing region of Valencia. The first photograph depicted a young girl smiling at the camera, the sun in her face as she reached out to pick a cluster of oranges still clinging to the tree. Now a cliché of the advertising industry, such images could be offered to readers in the 1930s more innocently than today although ideology as much as oranges was clearly at stake.[43] The second image carried powerful reverberations harking directly back to traditional Spain, with almost fifty Spanish women sitting in pairs in a courtyard sorting oranges into large wicker baskets. The image presented itself as a study in rustic rural life. The third photograph featured women in simple peasant dress emerging from an orange-grove carrying baskets laden with fruit, so heavy it took two women to carry each one. The form of these images seemed better suited to romantic genre-painting co-opted for the purposes of advertising than to the pages of a Popular Front magazine of clear, communist persuasion.

It was only with the fourth image and the accompanying article that the feature became overtly political. A portrait of a young man in a knitted jumper and workers' overalls sat at a table laden with books. Earnest and intelligent, he was identified by the caption as "Julio Materi, secrétaire de la Fédération provinciale agraire de Valera, un militant d'une grande compétence, courageux et dévoué." The following article makes explicit the connections between this young man and the romanticised harvest scenes depicted above, between the political militant and the images of continuing peasant life portrayed with their patina of art-historical allusion. For despite their quiet heroism, these civilians, carrying out their rituals of cultivation and harvest, knew their livelihood was under threat.

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[42] Regards, 31 December 1936, p14. See also 8 October 1936, p8.

[43] In "The History That Photographs Mislaid" (p59ff), Judith Williamson observes that in advertising, work abroad is always represented by *peasant* families, and that such photographs inevitably make us "tourists in another class."

> La guerre civile que nous subissions - nous dit Julio Materi...est venue aggraver le problème de plus en plus angoissant de l'orange. L'incompréhension des uns et le sabotage éhonté des autres a mis dans une situation ruineuse l'humble exploitation du petit cultivateur. Les ennemis séculaires du petit paysan, les intermédiaires et les speculateurs de tout poil, ne pouvant continuer à l'exploiter, se sont consacrés depuis l'émigration à boycotter ou à contrarier la vente de ses produits. Vilénie bien digne des amis des généraux traîtres, des ennemis du gouvernement légalement constitué.

Thus these images of the tranquil continuity of peasant life, themselves a statement of defiance in the face of war, were embued with a clear political significance. The portrait of Materi, and the explanation of his role as activist amongst the cultivators, coloured the other images in the light of his convictions, while the article's denunciation of "des généraux traîtres", brooked no ambiguity. In such a context even images of the seasonal rhythms of peasant life became statements of the political.

No less partisan were photographs detailing the *discontinuities* in patterns of civilian work. L'Illustration[44] demonstrated this elliptically in an image showing four huge cauldrons filled with recently-harvested fruit, their contents spilling out onto the soil, abandoned by Republican peasants taking flight at the Nationalists' advance. The magazine's more usual iconographical opposition to the Republican cause reemerged in a series of photographs[45] taken, like Regards' images of factory workers producing armaments, within a munitions factory, ostensibly depicting the broad continuity of pre-war patterns of work adapted to altered circumstances.[46] The first of these captured two men attending to administrative tasks in an office, neither formally dressed in collar and tie. While one worked at the desk the other stood using the telephone; a neatly-dressed woman took dictation at the typewriter. Two large shells had been placed, incongruously, on the desk beside her. The caption merely stated that this was "Le délégué général du département de guerre à la fabrique d'automobiles Hispano-Suiza." The second image had been taken inside a well-lit factory workshop showing four men producing hand-grenades. The caption describes this

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[44] L'Illustration, 14 November 1936, p335.

[45] L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p38.

[46] Regards, 10 September 1936, p9.

image as "L'atelier de fabrication des bombes à main." The final photograph depicted a small car being transformed into an armoured vehicle, two men in white shirts watching the engine-casing being fitted. The caption merely acknowleged the image's contents: "La pose d'une carapace blindée sur une auto."

While the heading to this page recognised the factory's functional adaptation: "Une grande fabrique d'automobiles, à Barcelone, transformée en usine de guerre," it was only the accompanying article which, in L'Illustration's ideological context, turned these photographs of apparent continuity into images of disruption. "La Soviétisation de la République Espagnole," it announces, continuing:

> là où les gouvernementaux sont restés les maîtres, les hommes au pouvoir ne sont plus que les figurants et la soviétisation est un fait accompli. Ainsi, pour une partie de l'Espagne tout au moins, le soulèvement du général Franco a precipité un mouvement qu'il avait pour but d'arrêter. Au cas où les gouvernementaux l'emporterait, la République espagnole deviendrait véritablement le second état soviétique de l'Europe. Tel est l'enjeu de la lutte fratricide qui se déroule actuellement au-delà des Pyrénées.

Thus in a scenario which saw civil war heralding the encroachment of communism over the peninsula, and the sovietisation of those areas already under Republican control, the photographs of the Hispano-Suiza automobile factory acquired a special significance. No longer images detailing the continuity of ritualised factory work, they now represented a radical departure from L'Illustration's norms of factory organisation, and became the cause for considerable alarm.

Just as continuity in patterns of labour became the iconographical and political property of the pro-Republican press, so too were the enduring rituals of social life and leisure co-opted into the Republican propagandist stores. The only image in the *British* pro-Republican press to deal with the subject at all was published in the Daily Herald[47] over the caption: "Barcelona's Night Life Goes On." It depicted part of Barcelona's seafront promenade lit up with strings of lights, a sign advertising the CAFE ESPAGNOL prominent in the image. The notion of continuity was etched into the photograph by its caption, the accompanying article emphasizing the calmness and "atmosphere of concord"

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[47] Daily Herald, 15 December 1936, p8.

that reigned in the city since the communist and anarchist factions had settled their differences. Amongst the French publications it was chiefly the pro-Republican Vu and Regards which depicted the persistence of civilian leisure rituals; where Match followed suit, with for example images of Madrid theatres crowded with spectators,[48] this only came towards the end of the war when such photographs could safely anticipate a return to peace-time behaviour, Insurgent victory apparently assured.

The French pro-Republican press was far readier to reproduce images of the continuities of recreational pursuits; a photograph published in Vu[49] in early September embued age-old leisure rituals with new political significance. It depicted that most highly ritualised of all Spanish leisure activities - the corrida, the image chosen it seems for its correspondence to foreign preconceptions of life in Spain. Vu's photograph, the first image credited to Robert Capa to appear in the magazine, portrayed four bullfighters dressed in heavy brocades, standing in an arena filled to capacity with enthusiastic spectators. The matador, on the right-hand side of the image, bowed deferentially to the crowd, while three others gave the Republican clench-fisted salute. This detail, combined with the caption explaining the circumstances of the bullfight, invested the traditional leisure image with an explicit political message:

> Devant la foule grouillante qui garnit les grandins de la vaste arène de Barcelone, ces maîtres de la spada, avant de partir pour le front, ont organisé une corrida au profit des victimes de la guerre. Cependant que le matador s'incline sous les applaudissements, ses aides, le poing tendu, saluent.

Thus not only did traditional forms of leisure activities attain a new political significance for their participants,[50] the photographic representation of these rituals acquired its own political meaning in the context of the publications which reproduced them.

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[48] Match, 17 November 1938, pp26-7.

[49] Vu, 2 September 1036, p1021. See also Regards, 27 August 1936, p10. A similar image appeared in the Daily Mail, 22 August 1936, p16, while on 2 November 1936, p8, Le Matin (Fig.41) published an image of the traditional parade before "La Corrida de la victoire" held to celebrate the Insurgent capture of Seville.

[50] An image printed in Regards (27 August 1936, p5) and the Daily Mail (22 August 1936, p16) showed civilians and militia-members parading through the streets of Barcelona with their rifles on their way to a football match, the leisure ritual transformed into a demonstration of political allegiance.

Its procedures long-established by the church, the funeral constituted one of the most politicised rituals of civilian life both in its conduct and representation. The British pro-Insurgent press in particular devoted considerable photographic space to its rites, highlighting notions of martyrdom and sacrifice and recording the new frequency with which it impinged upon civilian lives.[51] While the death of the anarchist leader Durruti provided the pro-Republican press with almost their only funeral images, the pro-Insurgent Daily Mail and Illustrated London News, and to a lesser extent Paris-Soir and Le Matin,[52] reproduced many more. The most memorable consisted of a pair printed in both the Daily Mail[53] and the Illustrated London News[54] towards the end of August, depicting the funeral of an Insurgent soldier in the village of Simancas, near Valladolid. The first of these photographs was elaborately choreographed: two women holding flags stood one on either side of the flower-bedecked coffin; a group of adults and children were positioned behind a row of guards; while a company of soldiers marched through the village square led by a long-robed priest. The Illustrated London News described the dead man in inflated language, the heroic "high diction" Paul Fussell recognises as persisting despite the experience of the First World War,[55] characterising him as "a fallen comrade" being "mourned" by young soldiers of the rebel army. The Daily Mail preferred pathos to heroism: "Poignant moments in the Spanish village of Simancas during the funeral of an anti-Red soldier who was killed on the Northern Front. His flower bedecked coffin lies at the roadside, while his comrades in arms march past in a last salute, watched by women and children..."

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[51] The increased incidence of such photographs in the British press may also indicate a British preference to deal with death only in the most controlled and formalised of circumstances, where the French were more prepared to show bodies naturalistically, lying where they fell. See Chapter 4: Part A: The Dead and the Injured, especially p206ff.

[52] See for example Paris-Soir, 26 July 1936, p10; 1 September 1936, p10; and Le Matin, 10 September 1936, p1.

[53] Daily Mail, 18 August 1936, p16.

[54] Illustrated London News, 22 August 1936, p305.

[55] Fussell, Paul: The Great War and Modern Memory, p22.

This image was accompanied in both cases by a second, portraying a procession of village women, one carrying a child, weeping openly as they passed the hearse. Once again the Illustrated London News strove for tragic effect: "Mourning women of Spain...a touching scene typical of many now to be observed in a country given over to fratricidal strife." The Daily Mail strained after pathos and sentimentality: "Women unable to restrain their tears when they left the village square at Simancas after paying their last tribute at the anti-Red soldier's funeral..." While the Daily Mail was frank in its reiteration of the soldier's anti-Red credentials, the Illustrated London News stated and then masked its sympathies, lamenting the tragic loss of a rebel soldier ("mourning a fallen comrade") but then asserting - and reiterating in the accompanying article - a generalised statement of war's barbarity. ("The scenes of mourning shown on this page are typical of many occurring today in stricken Spain...hundreds daily are losing their lives in this fratricidal strife.") The "many scenes of mourning", however, are depicted in the Illustrated London News invariably as *Insurgent* rituals - no images of Republican funerals ever graced its pages. The Illustrated London News thus used the representation of ritual to make a statement as political as, but more subtle than, the Daily Mail in its appeal for empathy with the Franquist cause. The increased incidence of the funeral ritual made it a political issue in the pages of the British pro-Insurgent press when only one side's victims were consistently represented.

Indeed in the eyes of the foreign press the church was arguably the principal source of the rituals governing the rhythms of Spanish life; the treatment it received during the civil war was the focus of constant photographic attention in the pro-Insurgent press in particular. On the whole the pro-Insurgent publications in both nations concentrated primarily on the disruption it suffered; L'Illustration however provided a striking exception to this rule. The pro-Republican press for its part did not try to disavow the destruction of church property and rituals, although on occasions it attempted to lay responsibility at Insurgent feet. Vu was the only pro-Republican publication willing to counter Insurgent accusations, attempting to explain the images of desecration it published.

One of the most potent and, in terms of its calculated effect on public opinion, shocking images to emerge from the Spanish Civil War appeared as a half-page photograph in L'Illustration[56] and again in the Daily Mail[57] (Fig.42) early on in the war, a variation of it in Paris-Soir[58] also bearing unequivocal testimony to the persecution of religion in civil war Spain. Lying open on the steps of a church in Barcelona, a number of coffins containing human skeletal remains were exposed to passers-by in a macabre display, while more mummified bodies lent up against the church portals in incongruous sunshine. Boxes of bones lay open between them, their contents partially strewn across the steps. Each mummified skeleton retained the cross-armed position in which it had been laid out, while one of the bodies on the left had lost its skull, only its jawbone in place. The Daily Mail's reproduction of this image matched it with a second showing militiamen bivouacing in a church, and a third, also reproduced in Paris-Soir, depicting the mummified remains of a Carmelite nun still wearing her habit and veil. The Daily Mail's tryptich unequivocally links the two photographs of desecrations with the militiamen in the central picture; the caption insists on the connection:

> These pictures from Spain vividly illustrate the horrors of Red mob rule. An exhibition of nuns was held in the yard of a burned-out convent in Barcelona, and one of the bodies is seen propped up on the left. On the right are other mummified remains from tombs exposed to view on the steps of a Barcelona church. In the centre is a scene of sacrilege in a Toledo church. Their arms piled up against the altar, Red soldiers are sitting on the steps with their hats on...

Lingering over the morbid details of desecration, the Daily Mail, L'Illustration, and Paris-Soir each shocked their readers into an apprehension of the disruption to civilian rituals of worship, the Daily Mail directly attributing responsibility to the Republicans. While L'Illustration, its page headed: "Cent Ans Après Goya: Espagne 1936," and Paris-Soir, announcing: "Nos Derniers Documents Sur la Révolution Espagnole," hesitated to apportion blame for fear of appearing overtly partisan, both acted nonetheless on ideological impulses in deciding to include the images at all.

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[56] L'Illustration, 8 August 1936, p431.

[57] Daily Mail, 3 August 1936, p10.

[58] Paris-Soir, 30 July 1936, p12.

For the most part the pro-Insurgent press of Britain and France filled its pages with images detailing disruption to church ritual in a manner less shocking than these. Images of burning, ravaged or ransacked churches all appeared in the Daily Mail,[59] the Illustrated London News,[60] Le Matin,[61] and L'Illustration,[62] while desecrated church artefacts also appeared with considerable frequency.[63] Indeed it is for this reason that L'Illustration's sequence of photographs[64] spread over several pages of its 5 September issue seems so remarkable. Where all other photographs in the pro-Insurgent press recorded disruption, these images demonstrated the continuity of religious ritual in the face of adversity. Their subject was the August 15 festival of the Vierge des Rois, the Catholic holy day celebrated in Seville with full ceremonial pomp. It was a ritual, moreover, also celebrated in France, which may explain why these images appeared in a French, but not a British, publication. The initial image was a vertiginous photograph taken probably from the Seville cathedral looking down on a massive crowd which had left just enough space for the processions to pass. The second depicted the archbishop in his mitre and stiffly-brocaded robes filling incense-burners held by several boys. Surrounded by similarly attired members of the clergy, the archbishop was hemmed in by the clamouring crowd. The following three photographs were much smaller, one entitled "Ferveur..." depicting a family group in which the parents looked idealistically skywards; the second showing the leader of the procession standing in his long robes supporting a staff topped with an orb; while the final image titled "Exaltation..." pictured a row of civilian onlookers following events with great absorption.

Images of celebration filled the following page. The first photograph showed two columns of soldiers accompanying the flower-bedecked float of the Virgin through the crowd.

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[59] Daily Mail, 6 August 1936, p16.

[60] Illustrated London News, 15 August 1936, p269.

[61] Le Matin, 25 August 1936, p8.

[62] L'Illustration, 12 December 1936, p487.

[63] See for example: Daily Mail, 14 August 1936, p20; Illustrated London News, 17 October 1936, p665; Le Matin, 21 August 1936, p8.

[64] L'Illustration, 5 September 1936, pp22-25.

Beneath it appeared a photograph of three Moorish soldiers wearing images of the sacred heart pinned to their chests,[65] while the third captured the official stand outside the town hall, filled with Spanish women wearing long dresses and combs. It is the article accompanying this page which injects a political charge into these images of religious continuity. For the Insurgent propaganda machine was also taking advantage of the occasion. Generals Franco, de Llano and Astray were conspicuously present,[66] addressing the people and talking with the archbishop, channelling popular religious enthusiam into support for their cause. Their appearance in Seville demonstrated the process by which new content was introduced into and merged with old collective rituals for political ends.[67] It was however the "evidence" of the persistence of belief during wartime, and the survival of its ritual expressions, which signalled a form of triumph for the church and revealed exactly where the force of L'Illustration's ideology lay, however reluctant the magazine seemed to reveal this directly. By devoting such attention to the presence of Insurgent generals, the magazine was able subtlely to reinforce its political preferences.

On occasions the pro-Republican press attempted to refute allegations of Republican disruption to religious ritual - the Daily Worker[68] for instance published a photograph of the Getafe Church "smashed by rebel gunfire" beside an article asking rhetorically "Who is it persecutes religion in Spain? by Rev. E.O. Iredell," explaining that, contrary to the Catholic Times' assertion, the church had been destroyed under Insurgent attack. More sophisticated, Regards[69] printed a photograph on 20 August of a group of nuns - some in civilian dress - grouped around a simple wooden table in the company of a number of militiamen. Several of the women offered a Republican salute to the camera. The caption suggests that, far from being threatened, these women were protected by the

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[65] See Chapter 2: Part B: Insurgents and Moors, p106.

[66] See L'Illustration, 5 September 1936, p25. General Astray is depicted addressing the people from a balcony of the Seville town hall, while in a second image generals Franco and Quiepo de Llano are pictured on the cathedral steps talking with the Archbishop of Seville.

[67] In this merging of old rituals with the new is demonstrated the inverse process to that E.P. Thompson discerns in the time of "harvest-home" - "the moment at which the older collective rhythms break through the new," that is, through the imposed patterns of the new work regime. See Thompson, E.P.: "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism" in Past and Present, no 38, December 1967, pp62-3.

[68] Daily Worker, 22 December 1936, p4.

[69] Regards, 20 August 1936, p7.

militiamen, and that the Republican attitude to the church was therefore benign: "Un groupe de religieuses en vêtements civils, protégées par des miliciens gouvernementaux, dans un couvent de Tolède." Anxious to authenticate this claim in the midst of accusations to the contrary, it continues: "Photo d'agence, nous transcrivons textuellement le texte de la légende qui accompagnit cette photo, tel qu'il nous a été transmis."

It was only Vu[70] which, instead of denying accusations of religious iconoclasm, fully embraced them and sought to transcend them with its appeal to rational argument. Under its title: "EN ESPAGNE OÙ TOUT PÉRIT...L'AGONIE DES SAINTS" (Fig.43) it reproduced two photographs of Republican sympathisers destroying religious statuettes, and a larger one showing three wooden saints being consumed by flames. Violent images, they seem at first to comply with pro-Insurgent photographs in their denunciation of Republican activities.[71] However the caption to Vu's images inflects them towards a more nuanced representation: "En brisant à coups de pics ou de marteau les figures de pierre ou de bois qu'ils arrachent à leurs églises et à leurs couvents, les Espagnols croient se venger de toutes les persécutions que les moines de l'Inquisition leur firent subir durant des siècles." Thus after explaining such anti-Christian activities as the response not of red fanatics but of ordinary civilians ("les Espangols") who had suffered centuries of religious persecution, the caption asserts that such behaviour had a history long preceding current events and was therefore understandable, if not excusable.

> De tout temps d'ailleurs, il y eut des briseurs d'images dont ni les prières ni les menaces ne purent arrêter le futur devastatrice. Au temps des guerres de religion, tandis que les catholiques mettaient le feu aux temples, les protestants s'acharnaient contre les images des saints, objets d'un culte idolâtre! Et de même qu'en violant les tombes royales de Saint-Denis, les septembriseurs de 1792 agissait par rancune contre l'oppression du pouvoir royal, les iconoclastes espagnoles se souviennent aujourd'hui des horribles auto-dafé de Torquemada et des autres grands inquisiteurs.

Turning the tables, the caption recalls that Catholic believers too had once been iconoclasts, and that such activities could sometimes be understood as a response to the

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[70] Vu, 7 October 1936, p1175.

[71] See Le Matin, 21 August 1936, p8 and the Illustrated London News, 17 October 1936, p665.

abuse of power, as incidents in French history could show; arguing thus, Vu sought to undermine the power of such propagandist images.

Thus disruption to the patterns of church ritual was used by the pro-Insurgent press of both Britain and France to convey a propagandist message to the public of each. That the pro-Republican press in France, and to a lesser extent in Britain, attempted to explain or deny these eventualities does not diminish the importance of religion in each country's perception of Spain. Similarly, images of traditional rural labour, like orange-growing in Valencia, figured prominently in the press of both nations, suggesting a certain correspondence between these images and French and British preconceptions of Spanish life whether continuity, disruption or adaptation were emphasized. Domestic tasks were of almost equal interest in both nations, the pro-Insurgent press concerned with rationing and food deliveries to the civilian population, where the pro-Republican press concentrated on water supplies and the conventional tasks of women. In both cases a simple, traditional notion of Spanish society was articulated and reinforced; how that society experienced the effects of war contained an on-going fascination for the French and British press. Leisure activities too in civil war Spain were shown in the light of preconceptions current in Britain and France; thus the bullfight, the quintessential symbol of Spain the world over, became a recurrent feature regardless of political inflection.

The singlemost effective iconographical and propagandist device used to measure disruption to the arcadia of traditional Spain was the funeral. Although the French press showed some interest in the funeral ritual, it was primarily the British who were concerned with portraying its increased incidence in civil war Spain, partly perhaps because of their distaste for the representation of death in any other guise. These rituals were never represented neutrally; the pro-Insurgent press especially was quick to exploit their potential in images portraying the funerals of Nationalist military leaders and soldiers, the dead invariably transformed into paragons of military virtue. These images carried such weight as propaganda precisely because they subverted preconceptions of the erstwhile tranquillity of civilian life in Spain - the benchmark for so many French and British representations of the Spanish civil war.

As far the French and British press offered any explanation of the disruption and adaptation of the rituals of civilian life - beyond blaming either side, or the generality of war - this explanation took the form of another ritual. This was furthermore the only cause of civilian disruption to receive any attention in the illustrated press, suggesting once again that the preoccupations of the countries which published these images determined what information would be visually conveyed. Thus the air-raid was repeatedly represented, portrayed both in its immediate effect on the civilian population attempting to deal with a phenomenon to which the only response was the most instinctive, and from the perspective of its aftermath on the fabric of personal lives. It was these photographic representations which, when combined with the effects of the air-raid on the physical city, indicate just how high were the levels of curiosity and fear latent within the French and British populations, *their* concerns externalised through the experience of the Spanish.

Almost every publication under examination published images of striking immediacy which captured a panicked population fleeing at the sound of the air-raid signal, the ritual of daily civilian life, of working-shopping-schooling, violently sundered. A Reynolds' News photograph[72] conveyed the moment of disruption most effectively in an image published on 15 November, in which a Madrid street was alive with a flurry of people rushing for shelter. (Fig.44). Though the distance was hazy, city buildings with their awnings and detailed stonework were clearly visible in the middle-ground. Only the people were blurred, women and children hurrying across the tramlined street more rapidly than the camera could register; alone amongst the crowd two men stood well-defined, perhaps directing civilians to safety. Both the source of the image and its indistinctness lend it a certain authenticity; the caption's emotive message rides on the back of this authority. Headed: "Air Raid In Madrid: Exclusive," its caption read:

> Playing on the fears of the Civil Population, the Insurgents bomb Madrid and try to cause Havoc in a scene in the heart of the besieged capital, which we reproduce from the Gaumont-British news reel, taken as the sirens were sounding. Sheer terrorism is the weapon used.[73]

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[72] Reynolds' News, 15 November 1936, p22.

[73] Other images of civilians fleeing air raids were reproduced in the Illustrated London News, 31 October 1936, pp772-3; L'Illustration, 31 October 1936, p265; Le Matin, 22 October 1936, p1; and Regards, 3 September 1936, p9.

Match[74] too was concerned with the psychological effects of the new warfare, the phenomenon still newsworthy more than two years later. Along the edges of a double-page photograph published in February 1939 was printed a number of separate images showing the faces of civilian men, women, and children, their expressions etched with anxiety as bomber planes passed overhead. In the centre was printed an impressive photograph[75] in which the city *background* was blurred evocatively into shadowy forms of façades and monuments, while in the foreground, isolated by the camera and frozen in her panic, a woman runs. Her feet are blurred in motion, as is the form of a small dog tripping at her heels; but the detail of her clothing, her facial expression, her earrings and hair-style, define the image as a study in individual response. There is a nightmarish quality about her struggle, the urgency of her flight contrasting with the photograph's form, its frozen frame condemning her to both immobility and eternal flight. The caption strove after the epic, emphasizing the unprecedented nature of the terror techniques employed.

> ...En effet, si, pour la première fois dans l'histoire du monde, une ville de deux millions d'habitants est tombée sans combat et sans siège, c'est parce que la population fut épuisée nerveusement par cette menace suspendue en permanence sur sa tête. À Barcelone, pendant trois jours, deux millions d'hommes et de femmes se sont demandés pendant soixante-huit fois trente minutes: "Tireront-ils?...Jetteront-ils des bombes?..." Un tel effet psychologique a été utilisé pour la première fois dans les annales guerrières. Affolée par les avions qui passent au-dessus de sa tête, cette femme s'élance vers l'abri avec son chien qui croyait à un jeu.

The disruption of daily civilian life in the city was matched with photographs depicting the new patterns which replaced them. Thus the newspapers produced in London and Paris, as cities themselves with underground railway systems, published a great number of images showing Spanish civilians eating, sleeping and waiting in metro stations, sheltering from the raids. The Illustrated London News,[76] Paris-Soir,[77] and Regards[78]

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[74] Match, 2 February 1939, p11.

[75] Although printed uncredited, this photograph was included in the collection of Robert Capa photographs edited by Richard Whelan and Cornell Capa, published with the caption "Barcelona, January 1939." See Robert Capa: Photographs, Faber and Faber, London, 1985, p55.

[76] Illustrated London News, 19 December 1936, p1141.

devoted particular attention to the issue, the latter reproducing a pair of Robert Capa images taken in the Madrid underground. (Fig.45) Refugees in their own city, civilians stretched out on blankets in the first of these photographs, trying fitfully to sleep; a man held a baby awkwardly on his knees; nearby, another kept watch. Between them, a woman sat with her face in her hands, while on the shabby wall behind them posters called for an end to prostitution, or advertised luxury cars. The second photograph was taken closer up, pale faces peering out of the half-light, illumined by Capa's flash. The dankness of their surroundings is evident in the dampness patterning the hexagonal tiles; the children appeared irritable at their confinement in such conditions. The images thus registered in the clearest possible way the disruption to the routine of ordinary lives. Each caption stressed this human angle, Regards injecting into the first some of its characteristic idealism: "Poignante image de la détresse, de l'abandon et de la guerre. C'est pour qu'ils retrouvent le bonheur que des hommes de tous pays combattent et meurent sur le front de Madrid..."[79]

More than the British press, the French illustrated publications were fascinated by the aftermath of air raids. Civilians photographed repeatedly in the ruins of their bomb-blasted homes became a metaphor for the torn fabric of the private rituals which had formerly governed their lives. Regards[80] demonstrated this rupture most effectively. On 10 December it published a double page feature titled evocatively: "La Capitale Crucifiée" which comprised a montage of Robert Capa photographs each exploring civilian response to the sight of their shattered homes.[81] (Fig.46). The lined and weathered face of a middle-aged woman dominated the page, her eyes closed and her lips apart as if

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[77] Paris-Soir, 2 December 1936, p12; 20 December 1936, p10.

[78] Regards, 17 December 1936, p18.

[79] The second caption evoked the atmosphere underground as the "refugees" waited for the raids to finish: "Les heures passent, interminables. Les rames du métro se succèdent, s'espacent, puis vient le silence, troublé par un enfant qui s'éveille en pleurant, par le bruit sinistre du bombardement."

[80] Regards, 10 December 1936, pp12-13.

[81] The cover of this same issue, depicting a civilian woman standing amidst the devastated remains of her home, too stunned to cry, her hands clasped melodramatically on front of her shabby clothes, also testifies to this same fascination with civilian response to disaster.

murmuring in sorrow. Deprived of an overcoat, she had wrapped herself in a blanket. The caption elevated her portrait to an emblem of civilian suffering: "Une mère dont les deux enfants ont été tués par les bombes fascistes." Behind her two black-dressed women huddled like shadows into the comfortless walls, neither able to console the other in the face of such devastation. The woman on the left was pale and gaunt with grief; the caption described them briefly: "Deux femmes dans la rue devastée. Deux images de deuil." A small photograph reproduced centre-page derived a certain power from its juxtaposition of disparate household objects: stacked chairs, bundles of clothes, a metal laundry tub, and most poignantly of all, a faded marriage photograph taken in happier times. Captioned: "Tout ce qu'une famille a pu sauver de la destruction," it encapsulated an ageless human response to calamity - the attempt to rescue significant sentimental and functional objects as the basis for building a future.

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The French and British press displayed considerable correlation in their portrayal of civilian life in Spain under the conditions of war. But this correlation did not arise from any transparent reproduction of "reality" on the peninsula. Instead, these similarities were drawn from a reservoir of preconceptions about Spanish society already present within the popular consciousness of Britain and France. As such, these representations proved revealing less of the experience of ordinary Spaniards encountering for the first time in history the impact of technological war, than of the shared assumptions through which the British and French viewed that experience.

The photographs of civilian life thus published in the French and British press suggest a preconceived notion of Spanish society as simple and traditional, uniformly governed by the church's calendar rituals. That the church was of some importance in this conception was suggested in images of desecration and disruption, transgression of the ideal norm confirming nonetheless its centrality in the press of both nations. That these notions were, however, particular to the culture that generated them, is borne out for example in the photographs of the celebration for the *Vierge des Rois* in Seville. Published in the French press, these images did not appear in Britain, the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin

meaningless there because largely unknown. Similarly, labour in Spain was portrayed through the lens of French and British preconceptions, represented in terms of a rural idyll as images of the Valencia orange-growers confirmed. Pictures of Spanish women washing clothes outdoors at communal troughs, or even in local streams, conveyed and confirmed the notion of Spanish civilian life as traditional, and even primitive. The cultural specificity of these images too is indicated in smaller details, the representation of a Spanish "milkboy continuing his rounds" finding its way into British but not French publications largely because of its correspondence to specifically British concepts of civilian life. Nor were Spanish leisure activities portrayed in terms any less preconceived, the recurrent image of the bullfight practically a cliché among foreign impressions of Spain.

Other elements in the representation of Spanish civilian life seemed motivated either by recognition, in the case of the French, or by curiosity in the case of the British; the fate of the family in war was thus the subject of numerous images in the press of both nations. The imposition of new rituals, such as food queues, and the loss, segregation, and politicization of its members, characterised the representation of both family and village life. The politicization of children, and their abandonment or separation from their families, carried a strong emotional charge for the French, who frequently portrayed their plight; for both the British and French, the effect of war on the family as well as the community constituted another instance of the subversion of their harmonious ideal.

Disruption to civilian life in war was measured most effectively in photographs of funerals. The increased incidence of this ritual demonstrated the extent of war's intrusion into both the family and the village community; the British in particular explored its political and emotive potential. More dramatic were images of the air-raid. Aerial bombardment was posited almost alone in explanation of the disruption to civilian life in the French and British press; the terror it inspired and, particularly for the French, the damage it wrought to individual lives aroused considerable photographic interest. Both subjects suggest that what was being expressed through these images was less the experiences of the civilian Spanish than the unconscious fears of the British and French at the prospect of modern war.

The anthropologist-photographers thus travelled to Spain in search of new, and publishable, knowledge and sent home images which corresponded directly to the preoccupations of their culture. Behind each image lay a idealised notion of Spanish society which was confirmed or subverted by civil war; this notion related above all to the collective imagination of Britain and France. Each image depended upon these ideals and preconceptions, furthermore, in order to take effect as propaganda; continuity, adaptation or disruption of civilian life were only meaningful in relation to them. Although the photographs chosen for publication ostensibly represented Spanish civilian life in war, that representation must be recognised as refracted through a culturally-specific lens; the collective fears, ideals and expectations of societies distant from Spain were formulated and given substance in these fragile paper signs.

CHAPTER 4: TABOO, ANXIETY AND FASCINATION: THE VICTIMS

PART A: THE DEAD AND THE INJURED (THE NATURE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE)

> Photographs furnish evidence. Something we hear about, but doubt, seems proven when we're shown a photograph of it. In one version of its utility, the camera record incriminates...In another...it justifies. A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may distort; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture...But despite the presumption of veracity that gives all photographs authority, interest, seductiveness, the work that photographs do is no exception to the usually shady commerce between art and truth.
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> Susan Sontag: On Photography, pp5-6.

In questioning photography's authority as the transmitter of truth, Susan Sontag highlights one of the most crucial issues for the historian concerned with visual sources - the use of photographs as evidence. Sontag cites the increasing use of photographs as an instrument of surveillance and control, beginning with the round-up of the Paris Communards in 1871,[1] while in The Burden of Representation John Tagg traces the growth of photography's status before the law and in the eyes of the state,[2] each case exemplifying the increasingly widespread acceptance of photographic records as bearers of truth. For Roland Barthes it was the "having-been-there" quality of the photographic image, its "certificate of presence", which constituted the photograph's overwhelming truth.[3] Yet Tagg argues that the indexical nature of the photograph, "the causative link between the pre-photographic referent and the sign - is...highly complex, irreversible, and can

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[1] See also English, Donald: Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic, 1871-1914, especially Chapter 2: Photography and the Paris Commune, p21ff.

[2] Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories, Macmillan, London, 1988.

[3] Barthes, Roland: Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography, pp76,87.

guarantee nothing at the level of meaning."[4] He thereby casts doubt upon any notions of a transparent relationship between photographs and the reality they reproduce. Yet news photographs are presented and used almost exclusively as evidence, their very *raison d'être* to provide testimony of actual occurrences. The press photographs of the Spanish Civil War proved no exception. Trading on the special relationship to the truth which all photographs claim for themselves, these images, while constantly proclaiming their neutrality and objectivity, consistently reinforced partisan views and ideological positions over Spain.

In no area of civil war reportage, however, does the evidential nature of the photograph appear so contentious as in the representation of the casualties of war. The depiction of injury and death amongst the civilian and military populations was on the whole a highly euphemistic affair, closely connected to specific cultural attitudes towards mortality in Britain and France. Particular images in turn - the photographs of atrocities, and Robert Capa's famous photograph, "Death of a Republican Soldier" - raise more vividly now perhaps than when first published crucial problems concerning the nature, production and usage of photographs as evidence, each insistently questioning photography's claims to status as an unproblematic mainline to the truth.

To what extent then can photographs of injury and death be relied upon as evidence of the reality of war? To what extent were such representations ideologically derived, and how were such messages conveyed photographically? What did the publication of images such as those of atrocities reveal about the relationship between photography and truth within the cultures that produced these images? And finally, to what extent do these photographs as a whole provide insights into culturally determined notions of mortality? In exploring such issues I hope to challenge widely accepted views of the nature of photographic truth, and to suggest instead a new concept of the value of photographic records to historical enquiry.

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[4] Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation, p3.

In the pages of the French and British press the Spanish Civil War, like the First World War before it, was a largely sanitised affair. Certainly in Britain there existed among the newsreel-makers a "concern for the alleged squeamishness of the British public [which] prevented much of the most vivid material of the Spanish Civil War from being included" - certain scenes were simply considered "too gruesome for the public palate".[5] Self-styled censorship of this sort on the part of newsreel and newspaper editors goes some way towards explaining the euphemistic nature of representations of both injury and death in the British and to a lesser extent the French press. But it cannot wholly account for the terms in which these realities were cast. To consider injury alone: bodies were almost invariably bloodless, intact, clean, uncontorted, never disfigured or in pain, and rarely in danger of death. Human beings in Spain were only ever allegorically wounded, pristine white dressings transforming the rawness of injury into anodyne symbol.[6] Metaphor aside, injury was even represented on occasions as a pleasurable experience. It occurred always within close reach of medical assistance, and almost always in the company of comrades - to the extent that photographs of the wounded were often overshadowed by a secondary theme - that of comradeship in war. The process of injury was almost never shown, such subjects approaching too closely the limitations of public sensibility. Serious injury, on the rare occasions when it was represented, was never tackled without the mediation of pathos, a form of aestheticization which made fear, or shock, or horror more manageable, especially in those rare images in which injury was linked with death.

Thus the entire representation of the war wounded was euphemistic in cast and tone. This was frequently apparent in photographs of otherwise healthy soldiers wearing a simple bandage, the clean dressing a metonymic representation of injury,[7] and in photographs

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[5] Crosthwaite, Brian: "Newsreels Show Political Bias. Editing of Spanish War Scenes Disclose Partisan Views," p41. According to Crosthwaite, such "censored" images included footage shot by Pathé Gazette's R. Butin at Badajoz, depicting "amazing shots of the town's destruction...particularly gruesome were the rows of burnt, charred bodies littering the streets..."

[6] Photographs taken by Mrs Winifred Bates, who accompanied the International Brigade and the British Medical Mission in Spain, depict operations in progress, bloodied wounds and soldiers with bandaged and amputated limbs, some of these images more graphic than those made public in the British press. The Spanish Civil War, Album 336, the Imperial War Museum, London.

[7] See for example the images of the survivors of the Alcazar in Vu, 7 October 1936, p1177, and Le Matin, 2 October 1936, p8.

of nurses, the reality of wounding deflected onto an associated party.[8] A photograph published in Le Matin[9] in August provided a pertinent example of this reluctance to fully acknowledge the shocking aspects of war injury. In it a "bateau sanitaire" was moored at a quayside taking on board a number of injured soldiers. Photographed from a position well above the wounded, distance and angle conspiring against the representation of any more vivid detail, the photograph showed only the queueing men waiting their turn to embark. No stretcher cases were visible; the most serious injury among them was a broken leg sustained by one soldier whose suffering nevertheless was mitigated by the assistance of two comrades. As a photograph explicitly concerned with the representation of injury in war, this picture dealt with the issue extremely obliquely. It stood instead as a symbol of and a euphemism for the reality of war wounding symptomatic of the subject's treatment in the French and British press.

Euphemism also minimized danger. While the entire representation of injury seemed expressly designed to underplay its severity, a number of images in the press of both nations went so far even as to assert the opposite position - that injury in war was *pleasurable*. The unanimity in this representation was striking, the pro-Republican and pro-Insurgent press in Britain and France proffering the same argument with similar photographs. Thus Regards[10] and L'Illustration[11] both published a photograph of "Une des Salles du Casino de Madrid, amenagé en hôpital,"[12] in which approximately twelve hospital beds had been arranged in one of the former casino's rooms complete with chandeliers, parquet floor, wall-sized mirror and columns. The grandness of the setting contrasted ironically with its newfound domesticity - men in striped pyjamas and

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[8] A variation on this theme appeared in the Daily Herald on 20 October 1936 (p1). A British ambulance nurse in overcoat and hat was portrayed from the waist up having "been shot at by rebel machine gunners and wounded in both legs." The more grisly details of war, here ironically turned against one whose profession it was to cope with such eventualities, were nonetheless elliptically and euphemistically conveyed in an image which only suggested the reality of injury.

[9] Le Matin, 27 August 1936, p8.

[10] Regards, 6 August 1936, p5.

[11] L'Illustration, 22 August 1936, p490.

[12] Regards, 6 August 1936, p5.

militacaps saluting the camera from their beds, or from chairs pulled up to former cocktail tables. None appear severely wounded; at worst, some wore discreet bandages around their wrists, or a small plaster on their forehead. All appeared in good spirits, amply attended by three starched white nurses and three doctors posing by the mirror in the background. Above all it is the association of injury with a place of extravagant recreation which embues the notion of wartime wounding with connotations of pleasure and amusement, its representation far removed from the experience of battlefield and blood.

In Britain, both the Daily Herald[13] and Daily Mail[14] equated wounding with pleasure in images in which nurses were pivotal. Of these, the Daily Mail's was the more striking. In a scene of pastoral tranquillity it depicted a number of men - some on crutches, some walking freely - enjoying the sunshine with a number of nurses in the hospital gardens. Some of the men wore uniforms, reminding the reader that they were indeed soldiers, and that if they walked with crutches this was owing to injuries received in the fighting which had preceeded this idyllic scene. Ignoring this, however, and making no reference to those soldiers who had *not* made it to this wartime Eden, the caption stresses only the pleasurable aspects of their recovery: "Wounded anti-Reds, now convalescent at Salamanca, enjoy a short stroll with their pretty nurses." The pain and ugliness of war wounding were forgotten, such undercurrents deflected in a photographic concentration on the company of attractive and attentive women.[15]

The euphemistic representation of injury was most extensively elaborated in conjuction with notions of security and comradeship. Together these two concepts neutralised for the reader any sense of the fear with which civilians must have contemplated air raids, and soldiers, the possibility of combat wounds;[16] photographically these images conveyed a

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[13] Daily Herald, 26 August 1936, p16.

[14] Daily Mail, 24 October 1936, p22.

[15] The Daily Herald's photograph operates in similar fashion, depicting "Senora Quiroga, wife of the former Spanish Premier, photographed... [reading to] a wounded government soldier in a Madrid Hospital."

[16] Paul Fussell recognises the role of euphemism in helping soldiers deal with the fear of war wounding. Terms like "a blighty wound" combined humour with irony and understatement in an attempt to eliminate the terror of injury by implying its repicients would return to "blighty" Britain (The Great War and Modern Memory, p177). Elaine Scarry too, in: "Injury and the Structure of War" (Representations, 10, Spring 1985,

reassuring notion of war which excluded the possibility of pain, maiming or death through injury. Thus if a medical unit were not already present at the scene of a battle, comrades were always close at hand to spirit an injured soldier - or civilian - to safety. The press of all persuasions in both Britain and France, with the exception of Le Matin which published very few such photographs, and the Daily Worker, which published none at all, devoted considerable photographic space to the evocation of mateship and security.

L'Illustration,[17] the Daily Herald,[18] and the Illustrated London News[19] all reproduced an agency photograph (attributed by L'Illustration to "Keystone et Associated Press") taken within the first week of civil war in illustration of the safe conditions in which injury took place. (Fig.47). It portrayed four uniformed Red Cross workers in Barcelona carrying a man on a stretcher into an ambulance, watched by civilians and a civil guard. The surrounding streets appeared calm and empty, an impression belied by accounts of street fighting which had caused this and hundreds of other civilian injuries. The victim himself was conscious, his left arm raised a little as he addressed a young man dressed inappropriately for street combat in white trousers, cravate and dark jacket. The calm atmosphere, the Red Cross' quiet capability, the proximity of the ambulance and the presence of concerned onlookers all contributed to the impression that the civilian injured were in safe hands. Such security left little room for the apprehension that injury in war could be life-threatening.[20]

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pp1-51) recognises the role of metaphor and euphemism in disguising the horror of wounding. She observes the recurrence of vegetal imagery (e.g. the harvest), the vocabulary of cleansing and neutralising, the language of by-products and costs, the exchange of idiom between weapons and bodies, the relocation of injury in the body of an imaginary collossus, and omissions in the description of wounding, as elements in this process of dissimulation. See especially pp1-18.

[17] L'Illustration, 1 August 1936, p409.

[18] Daily Herald, 25 July 1936, p16.

[19] Illustrated London News, 1 August 1936, p186.

[20] The caption reiterated this security, identifying the rescuers as "Red Cross workers - with red crosses on top of their caps - in action: stretcher-bearers removing a victim of the street fighting; one of the many victims in Barclona alone."

Even in combat, injury was portrayed as occurring within the confines of an enveloping safety. Medical assistance was always close at hand; no combat wound ever resulted in death. A number of photographs published in Picture Post, although not appearing until December 1938, conveyed this most effectively. Of a sequence of twenty-six photographs titled "This Is War" taken by Robert Capa accompanying a column of Republican soldiers into attack, four depicted the reassuring proximity of a first aid station set up behind the lines. After showing the preparations of the staff and the militia's approach to their objective, the seventh image in the sequence focused on the stretcher-bearers.[21] In an atmospheric photograph two men were depicted climbing a hill carrying an empty stretcher between them; the sun illumined one side of their figures, casting long shadows behind them.[22] The caption took it for granted that the battle would produce casualties: "Stretcher-bearers follow the troops. Keeping close behind the advancing troops come the stretcher-bearers, with roughly-made stretchers and first-aid equipment. There will be plenty for them to do before the day is over." Equally, however, their very presence mitigated the danger of injury by implying it would take place within close reach of medical care.

The eleventh picture[23] in the series, captioned: "The Wounded Are Brought In," showed six militia-men surrounding a muffled figure on a stretcher and stood as a further guarantee of the web of security within which such battles were supposedly fought; the twenty-second and twenty-fourth images reinforced the impression of the safe context of battle. In a very dark image[24] a figure could just be discerned emerging through the haze, ascertaining that none of the wounded had been left behind. "Somehow," the commentary continued, "on stretchers or on shoulders, all the wounded are got back down the stony

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[21] Picture Post, 3 December 1938, p16.

[22] The shadows and lighting of this photograph, its brightness suggesting early morning or late afternoon, contrasts with the darker images on either side. This discrepancy in lighting suggests the images may not have been published in sequence despite the form of the photo-essay itself, its claims to documentary realism ["This Is War"] implying chronological order. Apparent inconsistencies like these draw attention to the nature of the photo-essay as an editorial construction.

[23] Picture Post, 3 December 1938, p17.

[24] Ibid, p22.

mountain paths to first aid stations a few hundred yards back," the conscientiousness of the stretcher-bearers and the apparent proximity of the first-aid station once more arguing the safety of battle. The twenty-fourth image[25] completed these assertions by picturing a wounded soldier, bloodless headwound bandaged, surrounded by comrades and receiving medical attention. The caption explains: "...he was hit almost at the summit. His friend got him on his back and brought him in. Now he stands by to see him bandaged." Here comradeship was mingled with security, neutralising the danger of war.

The French press pursued the notion of the safety of injury into the hospitals themselves. Both Match and Regards published photographs of patients receiving the ministrations of quite extraordinary numbers of medical staff, seven nurses attending to a patient about to have his leg amputated in Match,[26] while in Regards,[27] (Fig.48) four white-coated doctors posed with tweezers, probes and scissors over the exceedingly vulnerable torso of "Le professeur Castroles [qui] a été blessé sur le front." In further reassurance of the anodyne nature of war injury, Regards' caption described the quality of medical care which could be expected by those injured in defence of the Republican cause: "Les meilleurs médecins espagnols se sont voués avec le plus grand dévouement au service du Gouvernement..."

Injury was thus never explicit or bloody, was frequently pleasurable, took place within easy access of medical services whether in the cities or the remoter sectors of the front, and was never dangerous since the very best medical care was always readily available. It was also the only occasion exploited by the press for the photographic expression of comradeship. All the publications examined published photographs of soldiers being assisted to safety by their fellows, often undertaking epic journeys to Red Cross stations (despite Picture Post's assertions of the proximity of medical aid.) Although Regards and Paris-Soir also published many such images, Match and Picture Post reproduced by far the most memorable and effective.

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[25] Ibid, p23.

[26] Match, 17 November 1938, p25.

[27] Regards, 3 September 1936, p10.

Three weeks after Picture Post, Match reproduced many of the same images that appeared in Capa's photo-essay "This Is War", using them to construct its own documentary reportage of battle under the title: "Une Heure d'Assaut."[28] Locating its battle precisely in time and place ("C'est le 9 novembre dernier, sur le front espagnol du Rio Segre"), where Picture Post simply maintained that the photographs had been taken "during the great battle for the Ebro", Match's representation differs from the English magazine's in a number of respects, chief among them the representation of injury. In place of the intrinsic safety of combat-injury which Picture Post implied, Match posited the concept of comradeship in another version of the euphemism with which war-wounding was portrayed. Eight of the twenty-four photographs which made up Match's photo-essay emphasized these links between comradeship and injury, one in particular standing out as archetypal.[29] (Fig.49) In it a stoic militiaman, his trousers battle-stained, his blanket still rolled over his shoulder, carried a wounded soldier to safety on his back. The injured man clasped him resolutely around the chest as his comrade negotiated a path between the clumps of grass and strewn rock. A makeshift camp had been established beneath the rockface; the two men struggled towards it in the afternoon sun. The caption made this image a metonym, suggesting that the scene was repeated countless times until all the injured had been rescued; there was no mention of deaths. "Le coup de main est terminé. Chaque homme ramène à l'arrière un copain blessé." Above this photograph was printed an image of an injured militiaman being attended to by a comrade, and another showing an injured militiaman being lifted down a steep rockface by fellow soldiers and captioned: "Il faut faire de longs kilomètres avant de trouver des soins au poste de secours." In each, the dedication of comrades replaced the proximity of medical aid asserted in Picture Post's version. Thus for Match, security was provided not by the immediate presence of medical help, but by the immediate presence of dependable comrades who brought the injured within its bounds. Both were complementary faces of the same euphemism.

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[28] Match, 22 December 1938, pp21-27. Directly influenced by the newsreel, Match described this reportage as "Une heure, le film d'une heure, de soixante minutes, plus denses, plus complètes, plus terribles que toute une existence" which "un reporteur, Robert Capa, a eu le cran de suivre...à bout portant, sous les balles.."

[29] Ibid, p26.

The process of wounding itself was rarely recorded by the illustrated press, although there was some photographic acknowledgement that injury *could* lead to permanent maiming, and occasionally, to death. Such apprehensions were more the province of the French than the British press; both imbued such images with an overriding pathos. This in itself counteracts any impression that these publications were trying to explore the grimmer realities of warfare unblinkingly, since both employed pathos as merely another variation of euphemism.

It was the French illustrated magazine Vu[30] which published one of the most powerful images of injury sustained in war, the only image of its kind to appear in the press of either country during 1936 at least. (Fig.50). The more shocking for depicting a child as victim, it showed a small girl perhaps ten years old standing in a hospital garden, her right leg a maimed and bandaged stump. Balancing on the arm of a wicker chair, a walking stick far too tall for her in her left hand, she stood with eyes downcast while a male, white-coated doctor lifted her skirt above her waist to display her injury - as a victim she clearly forfeited her right to modesty before both doctor and photographer. While the presence of the doctor conferred a clinical aura on the image, the caption eschewed the scientific for the emotive, pathos inscribed into every line:

> LES INNOCENTS. Spectacle pitoyable et déchirant: une enfant de dix ans, la jambe emportée par un éclat d'obus, comme un pauvre insecte étrophié, apprend à se mouvoir avec la jambe qui lui reste, doucement guidée par le médecin de l'hôpital de Luerca. Une vie brisée par l'implacable guerre civile...

"Pitoyable...déchirant...pauvre...une vie brisée" - the language of pathos invests the photograph with sentimentality, making the horror of injury a little easier to bear by a public unused to such images.

The invocation of pathos to mitigate the disturbing effect of images depicting the violence of injury was seen again in a Robert Capa photograph used in both Picture Post[31]

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[30] Vu, 2 September 1936, p1020.

[31] Picture Post, 3 December 1938, p24.

(Fig.51) and Match[32] to close their photo-essays depicting militiamen in battle. In this image injury and death were linked for the first time, as a young man wounded in the head lay swathed in blankets, dictating his dying words to a solicitous comrade. Pathos speaks from the texture of the photograph itself, in the coarseness of the blanket with its incongruous fringe, in the dappled ground littered with sticks and fallen leaves, in the blood trickling unchecked over the militiaman's face. It resides in the photograph's detail, in the stub of a pencil with which the militiaman writes, in the patience and stoicism of the dying man's hands crossed neatly over his body despite his pain, and in the hands of a watching soldier thrust deep into his pockets in recognition perhaps of his impotence before his dying comrade.[33] Reluctant to allow the image to speak for itself, both publications added captions imposing another layer of sentiment over that inherent in the image, Match's overlaid in a funereal black stripe across the photograph: "Je vais mourir...Tu écriras à ma mère et tu lui diras..." while Picture Post's own fragmentary lines contained pathos abundant:

> But for this man it is the end: A dying man gives his last letter. He will never go home again. He will never write any letters after this one. He speaks a few broken sentences. A comrade listens, tries to catch his meaning, jots his words down. Later he will contrive to send them home. Another brave man has met his end.

That the representation of injury in war was in both nations a highly euphemistic affair bespeaks a certain unease in the British and French sensibility about confronting war's harsher realities, about depicting "scenes too gruesome for the public palate." In every case injury was represented obliquely, subdued into metonym, or pleasure, or security, or comradeship, or suffused with pathos so that the injury itself became a secondary theme. The French press represented injury more directly, its photographers occasionally venturing into hospitals even if the worst injuries were not shown, and, more significantly, representing unblinkingly a maimed civilian child. But even in that instance the caption imposed pathos and sentimentality on the raw image. Both nations did indeed provide evidence of wartime wounding, but theirs was evidence of a very particular kind,

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[32] Match, 22 December 1938, pp27.

[33] The expressive positioning of both men's hands is more apparent in Match's reproduction, cropped vertically, than in Picture Post's where the cropping is horizontal.

documenting attitudes towards injury rather than the nature of injury itself. Given such inhibitions, how did the French and British press portray the incidence of death in war, so much more highly charged an issue in both political and moral terms?

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The most immediate and striking difference between the French and British representation of death in war was a difference in the sheer quantity of published images, approximately five French to every one British. The sort of images in which this imbalance was most apparent - pictures of life devalued, and the more explicit photographs of the dead - seem to suggest differences in contemporary attitudes towards mortality prevalent in each nation. Thus not only were the French more prepared to depict death in the context of war, the form these representations took suggested they were also readier to depict its more brutal aspects.

Yet the fact that all the publications examined depicted death in war as the result of combat injury constitutes a considerable misrepresentation. In fact, of the estimated 500,000 to 600,000 lives lost during the civil war, "executions and reprisal killings were far and away the largest single category of deaths,"[34] an omission in civil war reportage which served to conceal not just the "truth" about what happened in Spain, but a broader "truth" about the nature of war itself. Thus although these photographs, undeniably, furnish evidence of death in war, it is critical to recognise that this evidence is partial, merely the fragment of a larger and invisible whole.

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[34] Jackson, Gabriel: A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War, p176. As Paul Preston notes in The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939 (pp104-6), there is still considerable controversy over the numbers killed through atrocities. Jackson estimates that by mid-1939, Spain had lost 1,000,000 of its 25,000,000 population. Of these, 400,000 had emigrated as political refugees, while of the 500,000 to 600,000 war dead, he maintains 100,000 to 150,000 were lost in combat, implying that between 350,000 and 500,000 people were liquidated in reprisal killings. On the Republican side Jackson calculates that 20,000 such killings took place during the first three months of civil war, while "...the Nationalists, counting the entire time from July 1936 to the end of the mass executions in 1944, liquidated 300,000 to 400,000 of their compatriots, on the scale of violence comparable to...the Nazi repressions in Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia..." The only inkling of such barbarity in the French and British press came in a photograph printed in Regards on 10 December 1936. See below, p233.

In a 1934 speech to the Institute for the Study of Fascism in Paris, Walter Benjamin remarked that the camera

> ...is now incapable of photographing a tenement or a rubbish-heap without transfiguring it. Not to mention a riverdam or an electric cable factory: in front of these, photography can only say: "How beautiful"...It has succeeded in turning abject poverty itself, by handling it in a modish, technically perfect way, into an object of enjoyment.[35]

As Benjamin recognised, photography inexorably beautifies. Even without "modish, technically perfect" treatment, the very act of selecting and framing a subject inevitably confers a certain beauty. And as Sontag writes, "the aestheticising tendency of photography is such that the medium which conveys distress ends by neutralising it."[36] The implications of Benjamin and Sontag's observations have been frequently debated in relation to pornography and violence in the media, and it seems that they attain a special significance in the context of the representation of death in war. For all the photographs of the civil war dead, from the least to the most distressing, have this in common - an aesthetic quality which is at times expressly sought and at others no less present for being unintended.

That the dead in war were themselves aestheticised or used as artistic devices was often the result of a conscious attempt to soften its reality and deflect its impact. Both the Illustrated London News and L'Illustration published images in which death itself was incidental to the ostensible subject of the photograph, lifeless bodies employed merely as aesthetic devices within the photograph's frame. An image published in L'Illustration[37] provided one example of this tendency. (Fig.52). Taken on a barren, water-eroded hillside looking up towards the crest of a hill, the photograph captured a company of Republican soldiers, weaponless, their arms held high in surrender, walking towards the photographer at Insurgent gun-point. The gaze of the first three prisoners was directed at a pair of lifeless bodies lying where they fell, arms splayed, rifles just out of reach. Their presence

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[35] Benjamin, Walter: "The Author as Producer," reprinted in Burgin, Victor (ed): Thinking Photography, p24.

[36] Sontag, Susan: On Photography, p109. See also her chapter titled: "The Heroism of Vision," p85ff.

[37] L'Illustration, 5 September 1936, p4.

furnished an element of visual interest in an otherwise vacant foreground; aesthetically they completed the picture. Anonymous, their hidden faces allow the reader to remain distanced from these deaths, to ignore their particularity and meditate instead on grander themes like heroism, or tragedy.[38] The caption ordered its priorites, suggesting the picture should be read in such a way as to allow the drama of the battle to take precedence: "Les insurgés à l'assaut d'une colline où sont retranchés les gouvernementaux qui se rendent; au premier plan, un mort." Both image and caption treated death obliquely, as if it were little more than an aesthetic device.[39]

Aestheticism in the representation of death in combat did not reside solely in incidental detail. Both the French and British press included photographs in which the dead bodies of street fighters were the image's central concern; it was in their treatment as photographic subjects that aestheticism came into play. Thus within the first week of hostilities the Daily Herald[40] published a photograph carrying distinctly lyrical overtones. (Fig.53). Shrouded in a graininess which effectively softened - to the point of blurring - every detail in frame, the photograph depicted the body of a young man stretched out on his stomach in the middle of a city square. His position neither awkward nor contorted by pain, the boy could almost have been sleeping; the photographer stands at a respectful distance closer to the young man's head than his feet, mindful not to capture any unsightly wound. Beside the man a bundle of reeds had been placed like the lillies of mourning, while doves, a symbol of peace, scratched the square in the background. Titled pastorally: "The Harvest of Civil War," the caption chose to poeticize death, and to emphasize its pathos: "Lying dead and alone after the streetfighting in Barcelona." Filtered

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[38] In discussing the way dead American soldiers were portrayed in the images of the Second World War, Paul Fussell argues that "the dead in photographs must not be identifiable," since their anonymity was essential both in "sanctifying the war" and perpetuating mythical notions about it. See The Boy Scout Handbook and Other Observations, p231.

[39] The same process can be distinguished in an Illustrated London News photograph (31 October 1936, p776) showing four Insurgent soldiers picking their way through the destruction beneath the Alcazar fortress' walls. Far beneath lay a number of lifeless bodies, rolled one on top of the other in the bottom of a massive crater, forging an aesthetic counterbalance to the detail of the upper part of the image. The caption reflects the same order of priorities, describing: "The historic fortress at Toledo successfully defended by a rebel garrison: part of the Alcazar, showing (in the foreground) bodies of government soldiers in a shell crater."

[40] Daily Herald, 24 July 1936, p1.

through an aestheticizing lens, this representation seems particularly eloquent about British attitudes towards mortality. As one of the few images of death published at all in the British illustrated press, its particular stylistic attributes - its understatement, its pastoral allusions, its pathos - seem to confer on it some representational significance, seen especially in comparison with certain images published in France.[41]

If the aestheticization of death was one means of deflecting its impact and sheltering the public from scenes considered too gruesome, its representation through symbol was another. Both the French and British press proved masterful at this, Vu[42] publishing an image of a road-side marker indicating where the first victim of civil war had fallen, Regards[43] reproducing photographs of flowers placed where Republican soldiers had been killed in Barcelona, and L'Illustration[44] and the Illustrated London News[45] representing the task of Red Cross workers removing dead bodies by focusing on the empty coffins laid out in readiness. Reynolds' News, printed one of the most effective such images on 29 November. A single soldier of indeterminate loyalty was shown walking towards the photographer carrying four rifles and a second set of ammunition pouches. The picture itself had been freely manipulated by the editor, who eliminated most of the photograph's background in order to set the soldier in clearest emphatic relief. Yet without the caption, the image's significance is lost. Titled: "After the Battle," its caption reads: "Bringing home his old comrades' rifles on the outskirts of Madrid." The

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[41] The aestheticization of death was also a feature of a photograph published in L'Illustration on 1 August 1936, (p410) in which three dead bodies draped in flags lay at the roadside, shot at their makeshift sniping posts, wind-blown leaves gathering between the bodies like wreaths, like emblems of ephemerality marking the passing of seasons and lives.

[42] Vu, 29 July 1936, p874.

[43] Regards, 13 August 1936, p7.

[44] L'Illustration, 17 October 1936, p212.

[45] Illustrated London News, 19 September 1936, p480. It is interesting to note the Illustrated London News' version was taken from a considerable distance up a hillside embankment, while the French publication's photographer stood just a few feet from his subject.

extra rifles, then, had belonged to the soldier's former comrades killed or incapacitated in battle, each weapon symbolising a missing man.[46]

If aestheticising and symbolising death were both euphemistic forms of representation, there was also an impulse, more clearly apparent in the French than the British press, to portray death in its starker aspects. That life was cheap, and death, ugly and often cruel, was reinforced in a number of images published in the French press of all persuasions where the British press remained almost silent on this score. The devaluation of life in war was suggested in images of bodies lying exposed for long periods on roadways and city squares, and in photographs of multiple deaths, where a number of lives had been extinguished together. Thus L'Illustration[47] published a scene in Barcelona's "Plaza Cataluna" in which the bodies of four men lay beside the carcasses of two horses. Variations of this image, with the horses and men photographed separately, appeared in Paris-Soir,[48] Le Matin[49] and Regards[50]. The juxtaposition of dead horses with the lifeless bodies of people, whether within a single frame or within two separate images, suggests a certain devaluation of human life, equated as these men were with animals, and like them ignominiously exposed in a public place as the debris of war.

The most widely-reproduced photograph documenting the disregard for human life in war was also one of the most aesthetic. Reproduced in Regards,[51] Paris-Soir,[52] L'Illustration,[53] the Illustrated London News,[54] and, from a different angle, Vu,[55] the

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[46] A photograph in Match, printed in the 16 February 1939 issue (p46), operated in similar fashion, using the symbol of an empty baby-carriage to imply the death of a child in war.

[47] L'Illustration, 1 August 1936, cover.

[48] Paris-Soir, 24 July 1936, p16; 25 July 1936, p12.

[49] Le Matin, 25 July 1936, p8.

[50] Regards, 30 July 1936, p7.

[51] Regards, 8 October 1936, p3.

[52] Paris-Soir, 7 September 1936, p12.

[53] L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p46.

[54] Illustrated London News, 12 September 1936, p348.

image depicted a number of civilian-dressed men lying dead amidst the rubble of Irún. Attributed by L'Illustration to "Keystone et Orcana" this image of multiple deaths was at once explicit and discreet. Its power derives largely from the contrast of soft human bodies lying against the splintered wood and jagged stone; the sheer number of young men - six at least - and their relative youth, adding to the overall shock. Yet there is no evidence of injury, no gaping wounds, no seeping blood. The photographer has remained just distant enough to maintain the men's anonymity; what faces *are* visible are closed-eyed and half-hidden in shadow. Only one rifle is visible among them. The initial impact of the image is mitigated by the discretion of its detail and the artistry of its framing. The bodies in each reproduction except Vu's lie in a sweeping curve across the image, the last young man's arms stretching into an arabesque reaching off frame. Nor is Vu's image any less aesthetic, its depth of field and the young man's open arms drawing the viewer further into the photograph. Both versions recall the remarks of Sontag and Benjamin: that photography inexorably beautifies.

While the captions to this scene range from Paris-Soir's heroic: "Cadavres de gouvernementaux tombés pour la défense d'Irun" to the Illustrated London News' lament: "The wastage of young Spanish Manhood in civil war: A tragic scene near Irun...", Regards' is the most revelatory, showing how specifically French preoccupations invaded the

image of death in Spain. Linking this image with two others presented with it, it begins:

> Un autobus qui brûle. Vous vous souvenez? Le 6 fevrier n'est pas si loin...La Roque veut lancer ces hommes à l'assaut de la République. Imiter Franco et Mola. Mais nous ne voulons pas voir s'amonceler les cadavres comme en Espagne, comme ceux d'Irun, que vous voyez ici. Dissolution des ligues factieuses camouflées en parties! La Roque en prison!...

The publication of this photograph was therefore guaranteed by its iconographical articulation of the fears of the French left. Regards clearly projected its own preoccupations through the Spanish photograph, drawing analogies with France's own most recent past in warning of a threatened future.

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[55] Vu, 9 September 1936, p1049.

While photographs of abandoned bodies and multiple deaths signalled an interest in the French press in the devaluation of life in war, its more explicit death photographs also indicated a desire to visualise war's grimmer realities. The British press, in contrast, proved reluctant to confront such issues. *Its* most vivid images were small in scale or poorly focused, designed to minimise the shock they contained. Such photographs for example depicted an Insurgent soldier rifling the pockets of a newly-dead militiaman,[56] or showed bodies slumped against a wall pockmarked with bulletholes, the victims of a Republican firing squad,[57] such horrors disguised by their indistinctness and their reduced size. In such representations too there was little evidence of Stephen Spender's observations based upon his experience of civil war Spain, that:

> ...the final horror of war is the complete isolation of a man dying alone in a world whose reality is violence. The dead in wars are not heroes: they are freezing or rotting lumps of isolated insanity.[58]

Although far from completely catalogued, the realities of violence, isolation and horror did achieve some photographic acknowledgement in the pages of the French press. The French public - the readers of Vu in particular - was exposed to images which the British public almost never saw - of the dying contorted in pain as they fell,[59] or mutilated and wrapped in bloodied shrouds,[60] or lying open-eyed in death[61] - harsh and ugly subjects far from the euphemism of aestheticism or symbol. Other French publications however recoiled from such representations to take refuge in an enveloping pathos,[62] as a

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[56] Reynolds' News, 15 November 1936, p1.

[57] Daily Mail, 29 August 1936, p12.

[58] Cited in Cunningham, Valentine (ed): Spanish Civil War Verse, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1980, p337.

[59] Vu, 5 August 1936, p910.

[60] Vu, 29 July 1936, p874.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Le Matin (30 July 1936, p1) and L'Illustration (numéro hors série, août 1936, p7) also employed pathos to soften the horror of a photograph showing men and women searching for their relatives among the numerous bodies littering the forecourt of the Montana Barracks in Madrid.

photograph published in Match[63] (Fig.54) made apparent. Printed with four others depicting the defence of Barcelona, this photograph could be considered an archetypal image of war. It portrayed a black-dressed woman kneeling open-armed and grief-stricken over the lifeless body of her son. Her pose unconsciously mirrored his, his arms also spread wide as he lay in the middle of a country roadway, his clothing undone and his face out of view. The woman's gestures described her helplessness before this death, while the image evoked the cruelty and personal cost of war. Pathos is increased by the caption's insistence on the victim's inocence:

> Aux postes avancés, déjà, des hommes meurent. Sous le feu d'artillerie nationaliste qui pilonne la banlieue du grand port, un groupe de républicains a été decimes. Accourrue de la ville, une mère vient reconnaître avec désespoir le corps de son fils, victime innocente de cette guerre atroce.[64]

Vu was the only publication to cast such representational scruples aside. Eschewing even the suggestion of pathos, the magazine announced the outbreak of the conflict with a photograph of death far more shocking than any image subsequently published in the French and British press, barring the atrocity pictures which appeared the following November.[65] Its impact is the more apparent when measured against the first image of death to be published in the British press, the sentimentalized "Harvest of Civil War" printed two days later. Credited to the Keystone picture agency, Vu's photograph[66] (Fig.55) appeared at the top left hand corner of the page and depicted the corpse of monarchist leader Calvo Sotelo stretched out on a slab in a morgue. He is photographed from an unusual angle, the camera positioned above and behind Sotelo's head in the bottom left of the image, his face slightly tilted towards the camera, his feet stretching upwards, as it appears, towards the photograph's top right-hand corner. There is no ease

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[63] Match, 26 January 1939, p12.

[64] Although this photograph was unattributed in the pages of Match, a similar photograph of the same woman kneeling over the same body appeared in the exhibition catalogue: No Pasaran! (p57), credited there to the Spanish photographer Agustí Centelles and captioned "Victim of the bombing of Lerida, 1937." Measured as the crow flies, Lerida is almost 150 miles from Barcelona.

[65] [illegible] [???]

[66] Vu, 22 July 1936, p856.

in this man's death; his coat is bunched up over his right arm, his trousers runched to expose long socks and laced-up leather shoes. He wears neither tie nor belt, his face is bruised and his shirt-front bloodied. More blood has pooled ink-black beneath his body, staining the slab-top darkly in the monochromatic image. Around the table three male figures are present although no faces are visible; one man in a pin-striped suit balances a pen - or cigarette - between his fingers, another carries a white handkerchief in his top pocket. The third man gathers up the sheet which is about to be placed over the body. The striking angle from which the corpse is photographed, reminiscent of Manet's painting the Dead Toreodor (1864),[67] the seeping blood beneath it and the suggestion of preceding violence - all these elements combine to render this photograph of "Le cadavre du Chef monarchiste Calvo Sotelo, tel qu'il fut laissé par les assassins, à la morgue du cimitière 'La Almudena'," one of the most explicit images of death in the contemporary press.[68]

Unquestionably the most powerful and controversial images of any war, photographs of the moment of death were not surprisingly far rarer than those of the explicit dead in Spain. While the increasing technological sophistication of photographic equipment and the advent of television and video have overwhelmed the public eye in recent years with photographs approaching the instant of death more closely than ever before,[69] during the 1930s such representations were extremely unusual and were often considered more newsworthy than the events they purported to record. Thus on 15 October 1936 the Daily Herald[70] could claim, in its caption to a photograph enlarged across five columns of the broadsheet page depicting the fin of a sinking submarine surrounded by drowning sailors,

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[67] Manet's painting, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC (Widemer Collection), was itself said to have been inspired by Velasquez' Orlando Muerto, exhibited contemporaneously at the Galerie Portales in Paris. On this controversy, see Êdouard Manet and the Execution of Maximilian, exhibition catalogue, List Art Centre, Brown University, Rhode Island, 1981, p214. Manet also made an etching of his painting in 1874, thereby rendering it reproducible and conferring upon it a wider currency.

[68] This photograph reappeared in L'Illustration's "hors série" issue on the Spanish Civil War published in August 1936 (p2), but its impact was lessened by its smaller scale and the more limited circulation of such special issues.

[69] The exhibition 30 Years of World Press Photography held at the Camden Arts Centre, London, 1989, provided ample evidence of this modern photographic obsession - at least since 1957.

[70] Daily Herald, 15 October 1936, p1.

that this was the "Most dramatic picture yet of the Spanish War..." Similarly, an Illustrated London News[71] image of seven soldiers running across a clearing was described as a "remarkable photograph" for showing "two men brought down in a rebel charge, one of them actually falling." An attempt in Le Matin[72] to capture the moment of death by showing one man lying dead in the roadway and two others clutching their abdomens supposedly after an air-raid, was undermined by distance, anonymity, and definition so poor that its sketch-like quality eroded its impact and credibility.

It was more than just camera angle and shutterspeed that have made Robert Capa's most famous photograph: "Death of A Republican Soldier" the most enduring photographic icon of the Spanish Civil War. Elemental in its construction - open sky, a natural lansdcape, a falling man - its very simplicity renders it a supremely appropriate vessel for the expression of universal themes. Its blurred definition lends authenticity to a photograph which appeared to have been taken hastily amid grave danger, while its background - the cropped dry grass of the hillside and the distant view of hills - had reverberations drawn form age-old poetic conceits in which reaped harvests were a metaphor for death. The bright whiteness about the man's temple, the dark shadow above the crown of his head, and the angle of his face thrown backwards, apparently by the bullet reaching home, confer an extraordinary power upon the image, suggesting the photographer had captured the very moment in which a bullet passed through his skull. The movement of the soldier's right arm, flung outwards as he loses his grip on his rifle, seemed to be the final reflex of his strong, dying body. Yet for all this the image is deeply ambiguous. It is equally possible that the bullet passing through the soldier's skull is merely the tassle of his cap blurred in movement, the white mark at his temple merely his ear strangely catching the light. It is the very ambivalence of the photograph, and the reader's constant alternation between what is depicted and what it seems to depict, which ensures the image's ongoing fascination.[73]

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[71] Illustrated London News, 22 August 1936, p1.

[72] Le Matin, 24 August 1936, p8.

[73] Another Robert Capa photograph, also depicting injury in action, highlights the power such ambiguity conferred. (Fig.56). Published in both Picture Post's photo-essay "This is War" (3 December 1938, p17) and Match's sequence "Une Heure d'Assaut" (22 December 1938, p22), the image showed a Republican soldier

Published initially in Vu on 23 September 1936,[74] (Fig.57) then in Regards,[75] Paris-Soir[76] and the American magazine Life[77] the following year, Capa's "Death of a Republican Soldier" has been the subject of considerable controversy in recent years, and one which has at its heart the fundamental issue of the nature and reliability of photographic truth. Both O.D. Gallagher, a correspondent in Spain for the Daily Express during the civil war, and Phillip Knightley, former journalist and author of The First Casualty,[78] contested the authenticity of the Capa photograph in 1974, Gallagher suggesting in an interview with Knightley that the image was the result of a set of action shots staged for the camera during a quiet period on the front. In 1978 Gallagher altered this scenario in an interview with Jorge Lewinski, maintaining somewhat implausibly that the images were produced in the Nationalist zone by Insurgent soldiers impersonating militiamen.[79]

Georges Soria, an historian of the civil war and former journalist who worked in Spain at the time, has taken up the gauntlet in Capa's defence, chiefly out of immense personal and professional regard for the photographer; his objections to Knightley and Gallagher's

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crouching low as he raced uphill, a cigarette balanced between his lips, apparently although not visibly "touché à mort" (in Match's description) by a bullet received in the stomach. While the bare hillside and pale sky recall the "Death of a Republican Militiaman", the unheroic pose of the soldier and the photograph's sharper focus and clear detail render this injury banal and lessen its resonance.

[74] Vu, 23 September 1936, p1106.

[75] Regards, 14 July 1937, p21. Contrary to Phillip Knightley's assertion in The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondant as Hero, Propagandist and Myth-Maker (Quartet Books, London, 1975, p209), Regards did *not* publish the photograph in October 1936.

[76] Paris-Soir, 28 June 1937, p1.

[77] Life, 12 July 1937, p19.

[78] Knightley, Phillip: The First Casualty. See above, n75.

[79] Georges Soria compares Gallagher's two versions in: Robert Capa, David-Seymour-Chim: Les grands photos de la guerre d'Espagne, Éditions Jannink, Paris, 1980, p36. Gallagher's second scenario was published in 1978, not 1979 as Soria maintains, in Jorge Lewinski's The Camera at War: A History of War Photography from 1948 to the Present Day, Allen and Unwin, London, 1978, p88.

assertions are however far from convincing.[80] Soria's insistence that Gallagher's claims are contradictory does not dispell the doubt they cast on the authenticity of the Capa picture. Similarly, if Gallagher's thirty-nine year silence before voicing his opinions prompts both Capa's brother Cornell[81] and Soria to question his motivations, this still fails to address the central problem of the photograph's veracity.[82] Soria's affirmation that Capa never ventured into Franquist territory effectively dismantles Gallagher's second scenario, but leaves unchallenged the possibility that the image was enacted in the Republican zone. The lynchpin of Soria's defence - that Capa's "honnêteté professionelle était telle qu'il est impossible de croire un seul instant qu'il eût pu inventer une farce aussi médiocre que méprisable" - relies upon his considerable esteem for the photographer and, exaggerating the charges against him, seeks to exonerate him by asserting once again his integrity.

In support of his testimonial to Robert Capa's professional honesty, Soria cites a letter he himself wrote to Capa's brother Cornell in 1978, hoping to shed light on the circumstances in which the controversial photograph was taken. In what appears to be the most important piece of evidence to date, Soria recounts from memory - after an admitted lapse of over forty years - a journey he undertook with Capa from Madrid to a village "dont je suis absolument incapable de me souvenir du nom"[83] in the region of the Sierra de Guadarrama, during the second half of August 1936. Having decided to accompany Capa in following a Republican counter-attack against general Mola's forces from close quarters, Soria recalls that Capa, "au lieu de se terrer au sol, ...prenait debout des photos

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[80] Soria, Georges: Robert Capa, David Seymour-Chim. See his chapter: "Requiem pour un inconnu," pp36-41.

[81] Cornell Capa's objections to Gallagher's assertions were articulated in a statement printed in the Sunday Times Magazine at the time Knightley's book was published. Questioning Gallagher's long silence, Cornell Capa wrote: "Why did he (Gallagher) not reveal what only he knew when Bob was alive to respond to the allegations? It saddens me to think that Phillip Knightley would launch an attack on such a flimsy record on the crediblity of the photograph and the integrity of the photographer." See "Truth: The First Casualty of War," The Sunday Times Magazine, 28 September 1975, p25.

[82] An interesting rejoinder to Cornell Capa's statement appeared in a letter published the following week, where Jack Le Vien argues that war photographs are frequently posed but rarely credited as such. See "The Faking of War Pictures," Sunday Times, 5 October 1975, p14.

[83] Soria, Georges: Robert Capa, David Seymour-Chim, p40.

comme si de rien n'était"[84] while Insurgent fire shot down a number of the advancing men. Soria meanwhile, "dès le premier hoquetement de la mitrailleuse ennemie, [se jeta] à terre."[85] Despite the fact that "Cette journée ressemblait [pour Soria] à toutes celles que j'avais vécues les jours précédents, le spectacle dont [nous] avions été les témoins n'étant à tout prendre que notre 'pain quotidien'," and despite the fact that throughout his adventure with Capa, Soria had lain with his head to the ground, the journalist could still claim that on seeing Capa's photographs "devenues célèbres" in Life in 1937, "tout la scène que j'avais vécue en août 1936 reflua d'un coup dans ma mémoire."[86] Without providing absolute assurance, Soria was strongly suggesting that he had been present when Capa took the "Death of a Republican Soldier" photograph, although at no point does he specifically mention its production in his memory of that day. Indeed by his own admission that day resembled countless others; presumably such an image - if authentic - might have been taken on anyone of them.

Leaving aside the inaccuracies which marr Soria's argument,[87] a more serious inconsistency emerges in his account which twice mentions that the events took place "en août 1936," within a day's return journey from Madrid in the Guadarrama range.[88] Although neither Life,[89] Vu, Regards nor Paris-Soir published the image with a caption

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[84] Ibid, p41.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] He attributes to Knightley for example an argument he neither formulated or included in The First Casualty - that the militiaman knowingly participated in the "truquage" not once but twice, a notion Soria believes Knightley fabricated in order to explain the existence of the second, similar "moment of death" photograph published simultaneously in Vu. More significantly perhaps, and contrary to Soria's suggestion, Life published only one Capa photograph - the "Death of a Republican Soldier" - in its issue for 12 July 1937; the sequence of Capa photographs Soria looked at "une à une...devenues célèbres" in Life, supposedly in 1937, may in fact have been published elsewhere.

[88] In Robert Capa, David-Seymour-Chim (p41), Soria mentions that he and Capa returned to Madrid together after the day's events, that evening barely discussing what they had witnessed.

[89] Life states only that the photograph was taken "in front of Cordoba"; what other information was available to the caption writer cannot now be ascertained.

specifying the location or date on which it was taken, subsequent reproductions[90] place it on or about the 5 September 1936, and locate it on the Córdoba Front, near Cerro Muriano in the province of Andalusia, more than 300 kilometres directly overland from Madrid and doubtlessly longer by road. This seems to be somewhat further too perhaps than the day's travel Soria recalls. As neither caption nor negative have survived for this photograph - nor indeed for the series of Capa photographs published with it years later in an Italian photography magazine[91] and to which Soria, and Capa's biographer Richard Whelan, maintain the controversial picture belongs - it is impossible even to concede it this detail conclusively.[92]

Although persuasive, Soria's defence of Capa remains a profession of admiration for one of the century's finest photographers, but it cannot stand as proof of the authenticity of the "Death of a Republican Soldier" despite Arthur Goldsmith's assertions that Soria's recollections "to a considerable extent lay those doubts to rest."[93] The susceptibility of memory to nostalgia, its loose grip on distant facts, the fact that Soria spent his adventure

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[90] See the exhibition catalogue No Pasaran: Photographs and Posters of the Spanish Civil War, p24; and Robert Capa (introduction by Jean Lacouture), Centre Nationale de la Photographie, Paris, 1988, image 13. Capa's biographer Richard Whelan discusses how he too arrived at this date, based on the confirmation of photographers Hans Namuth and Georg Reisner. See Robert Capa: A Biography, Faber and Faber, London, 1985, pp95-7.

[91] Acording to Knightley, these images were published in Fotografia Italiana, June 1972, pp21-62. They are reproduced in Soria's book: Robert Capa, David-Seymour-Chim, pp36-7. Only if numbered *negatives* existed both for the photograph in question and for these five other images in which the militiaman of the famous photograph also allegedly appears, would it be possible to verify whether or not the "Death of a Republican Soldier" had been taken first. If so, and if it could be established that the same soldier was involved, this would suggest almost conclusively that the image had indeed been staged.

[92] According to Whelan, "Vintage *prints*" of these other five pictures have been preserved in Capa's estate, apparently with their "original chronological numbering"; the famous picture does not, however, appear to be among them. See Whelan, Richard: Robert Capa: A Biography, Faber and Faber, London, p95. Nor does the numbering of these prints necessarily reproduce the order in which they were taken. Moreover, Whelan's accounts of Capa's looseness with photographic and anecdotal facts hardly suggest he was a paragon of truthfulness in its most orthodox sense. Pictures taken by his companion Gerda Taro for example were published under his name during their early days together, a practice which came to irk her as her own professional independence increased; after her death in Spain, on 26 July 1937, Capa allowed one of his own photographs to be published as "her last" in the French newspaper Ce Soir. More seriously, a few months beforehand, Taro and Capa had arranged and photographed a mock attack on a village, probably La Granjuela; Whelan believes these images were also published in Ce Soir (Ibid, p119). Other instances of Capa's freedom with facts can be found in the same biography.

[93] Goldsmith, Arthur: "Moment of Truth," Camera Arts, Vol 1 (2), 1981, p111.

with Capa hugging the earth, and the resemblance as he himself admits of that day to so many others - all this conspires against Soria's testimony. Similarly, the avowal of Emeric Weisz, Capa's colleague and darkroom assistant in Paris, that: "I was the one who developed and made the blow-ups of the said photo and give my full guarantee that it's authentic,"[94] cannot shed light on the crucial question of the circumstances in which it was produced. Nor could Alexander Lieberman, picture editor for Vu when the magazine published the photograph, offer any insight into the image's production.[95] Even after weighing Gallagher, Knightley, Lewinski, Weisz, Lieberman, and Cornell Capa's statements, as well as the accounts of two of Capa's friends, John Hersey and Seichi Inouye, with whom Capa allegedly discussed the photograph,[96] Arthur Goldsmith could only conclude:

> Probably we will never know the detailed facts...But despite the mystery and the controversy, the photograph remains an archetypal image of war, one of the most powerful ever made. Perhaps all concerned should leave it at that.[97]

Before simply "leaving it at that", it is perhaps not inappropriate to return to the photograph itself, in the context of its initial publication in Vu on 23 September 1936. Under a headline: "LA GUERRE CIVILE EN ESPAGNE" extending across the double

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[94] Ibid, p112.

[95] In an interview with Arthur Goldsmith, Lieberman, then editorial director for Condé Nast, could only state: "My memory is not clear on the Capa pictures - it was so long ago and there were so many pictures." Goldsmith, Arthur: ibid.

[96] Hersey maintained Capa had told him how the photograph had been taken when they were war correspondents together in World War II, Capa claiming to have simply lifted his camera above the trench in which he was sheltering during a battle in Andalusia, snapping the shutter without even focusing. Inouye recalled Capa's anger when, showing the photograph to two Japanese friends in Paris, they looked doubtful given the angle of the photograph, taken slightly in front of the soldier. Capa retorted that the soldier had been singing *La Cucaracha*, the same song he had taught his Japanese friends, when he was shot. Goldsmith, Arthur: "Moment of Truth," pp112-14.

[97] Goldsmith, Arthur: ibid, p114. This attitude was echoed by Philippe Achache, himself the managing director of a photographic agency, in an article in The Independent newspaper in which he declared: "What does it matter if the Capa portrait of the civil war was set up or not? At the end of the day what matters is a good picture which tells a good story." (Jane Richards: "Those Snap Decisions", The Independent, 28 March 1990, p13.) Objections to this attitude were raised in a reply published on the letters page of The Independent (2 April 1990, p18) in which Gerald Howson maintained that what matters is not "a picture which tells a good story, but a good picture which tells a story which is both good and true. Otherwise who knows where falsehood will end?"

page, the photograph now known as the "Death of a Republican Soldier" was printed above a second, less well-known photograph of another militiaman falling, and under a sub-heading: "Comment ils sont tombés." The caption to both images reconstructs the moment of death in its most sensory aspects: "Le jarret vif, la poitrine au vent, le fusil au poing, ils dévalaient la pente couverte d'une chaume raide... Soudain l'essor est brisé, une balle siffle - une balle fratricide - et leur sang est bu par la terre natale..." For the editors of Vu there was no doubt that in this pair of photographs two different militiamen met their death on the same grassy hill; for Soria and the editors of Paris-Soir, however, the same soldier indisputably figured in both.[98] This detail is in fact crucial to the authenticity-debate, the identity of the figure in the second photograph the one element which might be capable of putting such suspicions to rest.

If the two images are closely compared a number of significant differences become apparent. Where the soldier in the upper, most famous image wears a white shirt and slightly darker trousers, the second wears overalls uniformly darker in colour. This cannot be explained as simply a tonal change caused by shifting light in two photographs of the same man, since the images conform exactly in all other aspects of lighting and tone. The soldier in the first image appears to wear dark shoes, the second wears white espadrilles. The first man carries three amunition pouches attached to wide leather straps running over his shoulders and chest; the second has only two pouches and the straps are not visible. For a single man to be the subject of both images, captured with a rapidity testing the technical capabilities of Capa's Leica camera to the limit,[99] his centre of gravity would have had to have altered completely as he fell, his backwards motion in the first image transformed rapidly into a forward movement. At the same time he would have had to have swung his right leg backwards, moved his feet uphill and upended his rifle over his

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[98] The captions to Soria's reproduction of these two images are written in the singular: "L'homme en blanc est frappé de plein fouet," followed by: "Il s'écroule en s'agrippant à son fusil dans un reflex ultime." See Robert Capa, David Seymour-Chim, pp40-41. Paris-Soir also published both images with captions couched in the singular: "Touché!!!" and "Il Tombe!!!" (28 June 1937, p1).

[99] That Capa favoured the tiny Leica camera as early as 1932 is evident in his account of how he managed to photograph Trotsky giving a speech to students in Copenhagen, when photographers with more cumbersome equipment were barred entry. ("I had my little Leica in my pocket so no-one thought I was even a photographer.") See Whelan, Richard: Robert Capa: A Biography, p41. Jean Lacouture also writes of the importance of the Leica to Capa's work. (see: "Vers la Photo-Histoire," in Robert Capa, np.)

right shoulder as he dropped. And finally, despite the pronounced slope of the hillside, the dying soldier would have had to have fallen uphill, his feet sliding back above the three vertical sticks of straw visible bright white in the foreground of each image.

Even if one accepts it as unlikely that the same militiaman was captured in both photographs, and that in fact two different individuals were involved, one final problem remains. The absolute identity of time and location (shadows, background and the details of the foreground are identical in each) implies that both men fell in exactly the same place probably within moments of each other, yet only one body is present in each image. It thus appears highly likely that the "Death of a Republican Soldier" was in fact staged several times by several different soldiers before a camera held in position by a tripod or a stationary photographer, and that for various reasons the uppermost photograph alone - because of its evocative blurring perhaps and the heroism of its pose, gained a currency exceeding all expectations.

If on the strength of the available evidence it appears that the "Death of a Republican Soldier" does not provide documentary evidence of one man's death in the Córdoba hills, and that the image's relationship with the truth in its most orthodox sense is undermined, what is the nature of the evidence, if any, it contains? As an archetypal symbol of death in war it will always retain a certain power, even if its status is diminished by the accusations levelled against it. For the historian, however, its value as evidence is only enhanced. No longer the documentation of an individual death in a certain battle at a historically specific time and place, the photograph has become evidence of something broader, of the desired beliefs of a particular historical era. The fame of this photograph, despite the counter-effect of the second picture with which it appeared right from its first publication, is indicative of a *mentalité* which wanted and still wants to believe certain things about death in war even in the face of the massive technological negation posed by the end of the First and the whole of the Second World War. What this image argued was that death in war was heroic, and tragic, and that the individual counted and that his death mattered. The very fact that this man, although anonymous, was photographed at all testifies to the fact that his death was *noticed.* Nor was his dying in vain. This soldier's death was in the name of a cause, and was steeped in the idealism with which he fought.

And finally, death was aesthetic. Clean, rapid, and taking place in a natural world where mountains and a lake and the open sky were visible from where he fell, implied that death had its own particular beauty - one which, as Benjamin would argue, photography was supremely fitted to record. The very divergence of this image, and the bundle of aspirations with which it was and is invested, from the experience of most twentieth-century wars is so weighted with cultural allusion that it cannot help but constitute an historical source replete with evidence of attitude, belief and resistance to the reality of change.

If it was on this photograph more than any other that Capa's fame was built, he cannot be held responsible for the enormous public investment in what that image signifies, nor the intensity of disappointment felt when its authenticity was questioned. Capa could never have expected the image to become an icon. Even if he were attempting to capture on film what daily he saw around him in civil war Spain, stage-managing a charade if that was the only way he could communicate what he witnessed, he could never have foreseen that it would be elevated to the representation of "un grand thème éternel,"[100] nor invested with such cherished beliefs. It was a public in search of icons that tell eternal truths, in a century more bereft that any other of such certainties, that elevated the paltry paper sign to such heights and conferred upon it the authority of a universal symbol. Photographs can never be repositories of truth; they are qualified to speak only of the meanings inscribed into them by their context and their use.

Only one other category of photographs called into question so vividly the nature of photographic truth. These were images of atrocities, the pornography of war. In a conflict of extraordinary brutality on both sides[101] it was nevertheless extremely difficult to obtain accurate
information about what was taking place. Phillip Knightley writes of Spain that:

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[100] Claude Frère, in his analysis of Paris-Match's photographs, cites: "l'amour, la maternité, la famille, la mort et la guerre" as the ambit of "grands thèmes éternels" furnishing the subjects for the magazine's covers. See: "Les Couvertures de Paris-Match", Communications, 1, 1961, p201.

[101] Phillip Knightley (The First Casualty, p197) estimates that some 60,000 people were killed on both sides during the first three months of war.

> ...the few serious attempts to report massacres and atrocities were buried in an avalanche of reports based on the flimsiest evidence, exaggerated to extract the maximum horror, and disseminated, in many cases, by professional propaganda agencies.[102]

Needless to say, such reports were rarely accompanied by photographs. Indeed atrocity photographs appeared on only three occasions in the French and British press for the entire period under observation, and that, only in the pro-Republican press. In two of these instances the images were accompanied by either photographic or textual assertions of their authenticity in an attempt to dispell any scepticism. Thus on 10 December Regards[103] printed a harrowing photograph of a Republican militiaman whose eyes had been gouged out apparently by Insurgent soldiers. (Fig.58) The accompanying article, surpassing the photograph in the horror of its detail, was signed by "Docteur J. Kalmanovitch (médecin de la brigade internationale)" who was himself photographed with three medical colleagues in testimony to his authority as witness and to vouchsafe the veracity of his account. The image's caption translates horror into propaganda, stressing the barbarity of the Insurgent troops: "Un des 'civilisateurs' de l'armée FRANCO lui avait fait sauter les deux yeux."

In November both Regards[104] and the Daily Worker[105] published photographs which were undoubtedly among the most horrific to grace the press of either nation. Like the previous image, these too were employed in a manner overtly political; only the Daily Worker, however, mindful perhaps of the limitations of English sensibilities, found it necessary to justify the publication of these photographs.[106] The Daily Herald for its

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[102] Ibid, p198. Both Frank Pitcairn (alias Claud Cockburn) and Franz Borkenau, on their respective visits to civil war Spain, "soon learned to discount all the stories articulated by a certain type of newspaper, of the torturing of nuns and things of this kind." (Borkenau, Franz: The Spanish Cockpit, University of Michigan Press, Michigan, 1963, p134.) See also, Pitcairn, Frank: Reporter in Spain, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1936, p67.

[103] Regards, 10 December 1936, p15.

[104] Regards, 11 November 1936, pp12-13.

[105] Daily Worker, 12 November 1936, p5.

[106] Fifty-five years later Amnesty International, publishing a full broadsheet page of atrocity photographs in The Observer (28 May 1991, pp16-17) on the occasion of its 30th anniversary, found it necessary to begin its accompanying text with a proviso acknowledging, explaining and ultimately building upon the

part, supposedly deeming these photographs "too gruesome for public showing," published simply a textual account of the events in question.[107] Taken in the aftermath of a bombing raid on Getafe, an airport town just outside Madrid on 30 October, both Regards and the Daily Worker featured identification photographs of hideously maimed children laid out under numerical labels like exhibits in a laboratory.

The Daily Worker introduced this page of atrocity photographs - five of dead children and one of a scene in a morgue - with a contrasting picture of an English girl playing in a sunny garden. (Fig.59) The headline reads: "Twelve days ago THEY played as SHE does," while the caption unequivocally identifies the fate of British children with their Spanish counterparts: "She's English. She plays in peace now. But fascist aggression, unchecked, carries its threat of death for our children too," the concerns of the British left visualised in these images from Spain. The five photographs of dead children, published under the headline: "Nazi Bomb Kills Seventy Spanish Children," contravene in every respect the conventions which regulated the representation of death in the British press. There is nothing symbolic, incidental or euphemistic in these pictures. Blood stains the children's faces, their clothing and the ground on which they lie; their wounds are explicit and gaping; the eyes of some remain open in death. The cardboard labels on the children's chests signify their transformation in death into objects to be photographed and used as evidence. The apparent hesitation of the editors before publishing these images, and a sixth - a more distant interior view showing the floor and tables of the morgue overflowing with the bodies - confers authenticity on upon them and helps mitigate any charges that they were printed solely in the interests of sensationalism or propaganda. The accompanying article printed under a large subheading: "Why We Print This Page," explains the editors' decision:

> We discussed long and hard whether or not to print this awful page. Previously...we have refrained from publishing [such photographs] because it seemed that mere horror would not serve our great purpose, which is to harden the determination to fight fascism and defend democracy...Why then do we print these pictures. To shock? Certainly. But to shock all who look

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offense such images caused to the British sensibility.

[107] Daily Herald, 31 October 1936, p1.

> at them into realising that these dead children are the cost of brutal, militaristic aggression against peaceful people...

With the justification of publication running to three times the length of the images' caption, the impact of the photographs seemed to be at least as important to the Daily Worker as the events they so graphically recorded. The evidence these images contain reveals more about the British communist left's perception of the value of atrocity photographs than about the events at Getafe at the end of that first October of civil war.[108]

Regards' representation of the same events discarded all scruples concerning the reproduction of these images. (Fig.60) It printed nine photographs of mutilated children and two interior scenes of the same morgue under the immediately provocative title: "Nous accusons..." its resonances harking back to the injustices of the Dreyfus Affair. Recounting in minute detail the irruption of an air-raid into the children's peaceful games, the accompanying article sought above all to draw parallels between the Spanish present and the people of France, Regards too using these images to express its own most pressing concerns:

> Voici le visage véritable du fascisme: Voici ce que font ceux qui brûlent d'imiter ici, en France, les chefs des ligues disoutes et reformées. Voici, mères françaises, ce que attend vos enfants si le peuple français ne s'unit pas indissolublement contre la minorité des factieux. Et maintenant, allons-nous laisser le massacre se poursuivre?

No disavowal of political or sensationalist intentions followed, nor was affirmation of the photographs' authenticity considered necessary. The images were posited unflinchingly as proof of Insurgent barbarity, the shock and anger conveyed by the scarred and lifeless faces of children precluding all discussion. Although the "truth" they contain seems sadly irrefutable, these images can in fact guarantee nothing with regard to location, time or cause. While the images themselves proclaim the "truth" of their horror - "this really happened, see for yourself" - this horror itself invests them with no special veracity with

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[108] The debate over whether or not to publish photographs of war's more gruesome reality is an ongoing one, as an article by The Guardian's picture editor makes manifest. In "Dilemma of the grisley and the gratituous," (The Guardian, 4 March 1991, p29) Eamonn McCabe discusses the decision of the British Observer newspaper to publish the most contentious photograph of the 1991 Gulf War - an image of an Iraqi soldier burnt alive at the windscreen of his vehicle.

regard to their production; indeed the reader's desire to disavow their "reality" invites an increased scepticism. Instead, published in this way, these photographs could provide solid evidence of only one kind, that the exploitation of atrocity images was a practice marginally more acceptable in France than in Britain.

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French and British press photographs of the casualties of war can in no sense be understood as simply transmitting objective facts to their audience. The evidence these photographs supplied was, without exception, culturally determined, and provided a vision of suffering that conformed not to the experience of war in Spain, but to the limitations of public sensibility in the countries which published those images. Thus both nations invoked euphemisms - the use of symbol, metonym and pathos - and remoulded definitions, submerging notions of injury in images of comradeship, security and pleasure. Although the French press seemed readier than the British to investigate more closely the nature of wounding in war, their photographs of hospital patients conveyed only a safe and anodyne view. There was little apprehension of the messier or more brutal aspects of war injury - none at all in the British press, and on only one occasion in the French, although even this photograph - of a young, disabled girl - was overlaid with the aura of science, and shot through with pathos in its caption. The links between injury and death were all but totally suppressed in the images of both nations, blanketed under a palliative pathos.

Just as a heavy photographic investment in euphemism and pathos masked a fear of injury and a reluctance to recognise its implications, so too did photographs of death provide evidence not so much of *its* reality as of British and French attitudes towards it. If the photographs themselves were ideologically inflected, this was always only within the limitations of the cultural attitudes which allowed them to signify. It is herein that photography's value as historical evidence can best be understood, providing an access not to the truth but to the *mentalité* which gives these images meaning.

Thus the British press, when it represented death at all, relied heavily upon the mediation of aesthetic and symbolic devices, "The Harvest of Civil War" photograph exemplifying its approach. If the moment, or more commonly, the aftermath of wartime killing were ever shown, this was generally from a distance, or with overtones which sensationalised the photographic act, as the images of falling soldiers and drowning sailors showed. Death was clearly no fit subject for direct photographic representation. In France, in contrast, death was much more acceptable a topic for photographic meditation. While euphemism, symbol, and indeed pathos were employed in its representation, death was also portrayed in more explicit and uglier guises in the French press of all persuasions, as Vu's image of Calvo Sotelo's corpse suggests. Images of multiple deaths in public places testified to the devaluation of life in war; death itself was depicted with a detail lacking in the British publications. Thus for the French, bodies were contorted, blood seeped, and cadavers lay open-eyed, all indicating a *mentalité* to which mortality was not taboo, its graphic representation more acceptable than in Britain. The publication of atrocity photographs, without apology or proviso, bears this out for the French; for the British, such images were clearly an aberration. The extent to which, in Britain, their publication required justification and their authenticity, verification, strongly suggests that the explicit representation of death was so foreign to the British sensibility that when such images did appear their power to shock was intensified.

For all their frankness in depicting at least some of the grimmer aspects of war, the French press' reproduction of Capa's "Death of a Republican Soldier" and the wide currency the image gained thereafter, suggests a resistance to this knowledge, and the wish to believe that death in war was at least significant, and did ultimately matter. It represented a denial of the uglier aspects of war fatality in preference to an archetype of individual heroism, despite the fact that the technological advances of total war, for whose experiments Spain provided the laboratory, rendered such representations archaic. The intensity of debate over this photographic icon testifies to the tenacity of such beliefs, and the strength of attitudinal resistance to the implications of modern war. The evidence it provides, like all these images of injury and death, has little to do with its particular contents, or with any notion of photographic "truth"; it bears witness instead to the ideological currents which produced it and the *mentalité* it inflected and to which it also

contributed. Like all photographs, the truth it reveals is not inherent within it, but lies beyond it in the culture of which it is a part.

CHAPTER 4: TABOO, ANXIETY AND FASCINATION: THE VICTIMS
PART B: THE REFUGEES (THE LIMITATIONS OF DOCUMENTARY)

> "Our broadcasters tell people what they saw out there in the wilderness today." The wilderness is the world, and it inspires in us...both anxiety and perverse fascination, two varieties of response to a spectacle.
>
> Rosler, Martha: "in, around and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)."[1]

Both John Tagg and Martha Rosler, in their considerations of the documentary genre, assert that the power relations inscribed within documentary photographs are structured so as to "speak to those with relative power about those positioned as lacking."[2] They see its subjects as "the feminised Other...passive but pathetic objects capable only of offering themselves up to a benevolent, transcendent gaze - the gaze of the camera and the gaze of the paternal state."[3] Furthermore, Tagg in particular argues that the documentary genre as it was practised in the 1930s was directed not only towards experts but to "a broader lay audience" which it attempted to recruit into the discourse of state-directed, paternalistic reform. In order to do so, he argues, the genre traded on "the status of the official document as proof" even while it "transformed the flat rhetoric of evidence into an emotionalised drama of experience."[4] This drama took the form of moralism rather than any programme for political or structural change; its operation was displayed in photographs of poverty and oppression in which causality was deliberately vague and

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[1] Rosler, Martha: "in, around, and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)" in 3 Works, Press of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, 1981, p78.

[2] Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation, p12. In her article: "in, around and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)" (p73), Martha Rosler similarly writes: "Documentary, as we know it, carries (old) information about a group of powerless people to another group addressed as socially powerful."

[3] Tagg, John: The Burden of Representation, p12.

[4] Ibid.

"almost invariably equated with misfortunes caused by natural disasters."[5] According to Rosler, its effect was to inspire in the reader both anxiety and perverse fascination.[6]

The press photographs of refugees from the conflict in Spain seem to comply in most respects with the defining principles postulated by Rosler and Tagg. Certainly the illustrated press of both Britain and France represented the plight of the refugees at times as a grand emotionalised drama shot through with pathos, attaining at times the stature of an epic statement about the plight of civilians in war. But closer scrutiny reveals subtle differences both in the message of these documentary photographs and their operation, in the way they represented their subjects in order to achieve their particular ends. These differences largely conformed, furthermore, to the broad political leanings of the publications which reproduced them.

The British and French drew on a remarkably similar pool of characteristics in their portrayal of refugees, as is indicated by the striking correlation in representation between publications of matching sympathies in both nations. A shared heritage perhaps derived from Judeo-Christian belief infused these representations equally, moreover, so that a number of similarites obtained even between the opposing press in both countries. Thus for both the pro-Republican and pro-Insurgent publications, refugees from Spain were seen invariably as victims, and were represented as inherently docile and passive, and "feminised" by their docility. They were considered innocent, apolitical, and the objects of pity. These images also implied a relationship of social superiority between viewers and viewed. But for the pro-Republican press the notion of refugee as passive victim was expressed in open-ended, or incomplete narratives - making universal statements about the human condition despite the fact that, as Rosler acknowledges, "the human condition is not susceptible to change through struggle."[7] It also attempted to couple such statements with explanations attributing responsibility for the refugees' plight directly to General

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[5] Rosler, Martha: "in, around, and afterthoughts (on documentary photography)" in 3 Works, p73.

[6] Ibid, p78.

[7] Ibid, p80.

Franco, although this could be considered a vague form of causality amounting to little more than a profession of political faith. The photo-essays of Picture Post on the subject of refugees provide the clearest articulation of the pro-Republican press' bind - its concern and anger at the scenes depicted matched by a parallel inability to formulate any clear directives for change. As such, its images achieved among its readers little more than a "perverse fascination" which froze the refugees' plight within the framework of spectacle.

If the pro-Republican press' response to images of the suffering of refugees was suspended in impotent fascination, the pro-Insurgent press in contrast reacted with anxiety. Although on occasions it too participated in the construction of "human condition" scenarios through the reproduction of photographs of epic or eternal dimensions, more usually it avoided the open-ended narratives of the pro-Republican press in order to effect a closure which could restrict the implications of the scenes it depicted. Thus these closed narratives, characterised by images of refugees at journey's end, safe in their places of exile, signalled an endeavour to contain the emotive power of their plight and to limit their situation to a matter of practical consideration. For the most part any notion of timeless suffering or severe physical and emotional hardship was expunged from these representations; refugees were considered a "problem," their presence bringing certain repercussions to bear on the domestic affairs of each nation. Pure humanitarian concern seemed to play little part in their reproduction.

How then does one account for these *differences* in the representation of the victims of war? Why is it that the pro-Insurgent press was less prepared than the pro-Republican press to record the plight of refugees in generalised humanitarian terms? The answer seems to lie in the ideological preferences underpinning each publication. If as Rosler argues the liberal documentary advocated change, however vague in formulation, "its vision of moral idealism spurring general social concern...imploring the ascendant classes to have pity on and rescue the oppressed," then documentary photography by its very nature was ideally suited to the crusade of the pro-Republican press in its calls for intervention in aid of the Spanish government. The medium was equally unsuited to the cause of the pro-Insurgent press which endeavoured to circumscribe both calls for intervention and the images which gave those appeals credence. The implications of the

refugees' plight demanded differing representational responses appropriate to the political hue of the publication in question.

How then did ideological position shape the photographic histories of refugee experience? What elements in the dominant *mentalité* of Britain and France were mobilised in accordance with these positions? What do these images reveal about the preoccupations of the Left and Right in the countries that published these images? Such questions underpin the following considerations of the representation of Spanish civil war refugees, and are ultimately used to explore the extent to which these images bear out Tagg and Rosler's definition of documentary photography.

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The representation of refugees as victims was a truism and almost a tautology amongst the pro-Republican and the pro-Insurgent press of both nations. The decision of the civilian population to abandon homes, villages, towns and cities automatically defined them, as Rosler recognised, as powerless and docile in the eyes of the press. It also neutralised them politically, as if their political beliefs were abandoned along with their homes. Nor is it surprising that the majority of the refugees depicted should be women, often with children in their care, since no amount of participation in warfare or job fulfillment in the absence of men could persuade the foreign press photographers that women in Spain were anything other than victims. Flight was never perceived as an active choice or a positive decision, escape never a bid for survival involving the rejection of the passive role invariably assigned to them by the illustrated press.

Thus powerlessness, political innocence and indeed pathos were inscribed into almost all images of refugees published in the French and British press; it was the way in which these images were used, the narrative contexts they were allocated and the circumstances which were said to have generated them, that indicated their political determination. The pro-Republican press of Britain and France published a predominance of such images embedded in narrative structures which remained unresolved, their lack of closure conferring upon them the status of pronouncements about human nature which claimed

the authority of eternal truths. Such photographs frequently took the form of journeys in progress, their lack of completion implying both their continuation into an indefinite future and their affinity with such journeys in the past. Time and location were generally not specified, the cause of their flight explained only in the vaguest of terms.

Thus the Daily Herald,[8] on 10 November, published a photograph of four women, two of whom carried children in mid-flight down a road from the capital. Dressed in traditional peasant attire, scarves tied modestly around their heads and dresses in the black of mourning, they brought only the clothes they had bundled together before leaving. The camera angle - taken from above the fleeing women, looking literally and metaphorically down on their plight - identified them visually as victims; its heading: "Innocent Sufferers of the Battle," firmly reinforced this notion. Pity was proposed as the appropriate response to this spectacle: "THE PATHETIC SCENE on the road from Madrid, as mothers, carrying babies and a few hastily gathered belongings, fled from the bombarded capital and the Moors whom General Franco has sent to wreck and loot their homes." Pathos derived from two main visual elements - the presence of children, and the blanket-wrapped bundles always "hastily" thrown together containing the refugees' most cherished, or functional, possessions. These details became a recurrent visual theme in the representation of the refugee experience, as did the predominantly female composition of the refugee population, and the elliptically-described but terrifying causes which had provoked their escape - bombardment, and Franco's Moors. These pathos-elements appeared with equal frequency in the French pro-Republican press, of which an image reproduced in Vu was typical.

Enlarged to fill half the magazine's page above a heading: "Pour ceux qui fuient leur campagne...MADRID, ÉTAPE DE LA DOULEUR," Vu's image[9] depicted an old woman dressed in requisite black sitting at the edge of a footpath, her belongings piled together nearby defining her status as refugee. In conformity with the representational conventions identified above, the old woman also had children in her charge: a small boy sitting

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[8] Daily Herald, 10 November 1936, p1.

[9] Vu, 14 October 1936, p1028.

against the wall, cross-legged under an overcoat, rubbing the sleep from his eyes, and his sister, her legs warmed by a white rug, playing clapping games in the air. Their youth contrasted with the weariness of age embodied in the figure of the woman whose wispy grey hair and deeply lined face bespoke a missing generation - that of these children's parents. She smiled faintly nevertheless, the pale dawn light illuminating the footpath and highlighting the shabbiness of the town, with its crumbling kerbs and damaged walls. The caption provided a scenario for this small refugee group, and furnished in its opening sentence a cause, however imprecise, for their plight. Its tone was eloquent with pathos:

> Fuyant la guerre civile qui désole la Castille, la grand'-mère et ses deux enfants ont atteint les premières maisons de Madrid. Une halte dans la douleur. Un peu de repos avant de demander asile. Le soleil chauffe, il faut en profiter, il faut, après une nuit passée à parcourir la campagne froide, rechauffer les membres transis. Innocemment, la fillette sourit à l'objectif. Le petit garçon se protège contre des rayons qui l'aveuglent. Le ciel est rouge...

Concentrating on the events immediately preceding the moment captured on film, the caption aspired to the status of an eternal truth. By ignoring precisely-defined causes and describing only the previous night's experiences, it suggested that this was just one night like many others survived by this family group, and implied that their experience was a metonym for that of countless others all over Spain. Lacking clear cause or closure, the image thus became a statement of the generalised refugee condition.

While the Daily Herald and Vu depicted the plight of the refugees as an open-ended narrative evoking pathos in the present-tense of the photograph, but relying on its caption to suggest causes and attribute responsibility, the Daily Worker[10] explored new forms to demonstrate these elements simultaneously, as an image published on 5 September made evident. (Fig.61) Its headline extending onto the opposite page: "Badajoz...Irun...Will You Leave - The Army In Overalls Defenceless?" this particular photograph also employed conventional devices to convey pathos. Thus women, some aged, dressed in black, and carrying a few essential possessions, guided young children to safety down an unmade country road, their journey attaining an epic dimension for being incomplete. Printed in elongated form across the bottom of the page, the image was

[10] Daily Worker, 5 September 1936, p4.

surrounded by three other photographs depicting the selflessness and benevolence of the Republican militia, characterised as "Democracy's Champions" who "Need Arms To Save [the] World," and one photograph of Insurgent soldiers, machine guns at the ready in order "To Crush The People." The page was transformed into a collage with the addition of a hand-drawn squadron of bomber-planes, swastika symbols on their wings, releasing their cargo of explosives onto the refugees below. Although crudely propagandist, the collage - unlike a photograph - was able to suggest at least some of the reasons provoking the refugee exodus. The caption, depending fully upon the representation of refugee women and children as defenceless victims, added yet another cause. It begins, prayer-like: "Protect us from Fascists' Bombs" and continues:

> Children and household treasures are rushed to safety as the Fascists advance. The peasant women have heard what happens when Franco's Moors and foreign legionaires start "mopping up" operations. Picture shows a flight from Irun district into France.

The characteristic vagueness of time and location ensured a measure of timelessness heightening the photograph's pathos; the collage form allowed the image to retain this vagueness while simultaneously tying it to a specific cause. Indefinite yet precise, the Daily Worker's efforts produced a striking and highly effective propagandist device.

It was, however, the illustrated magazine Picture Post which suggested the extent to which the open-ended narrative was politically loaded. Having pioneered the photo-essay in Britain, Picture Post's particular style of reportage, film-like sequences predominating, eminently suited it to conventional narrative structures involving development over time and final closure. Yet Picture Post's editors chose even as late as February 1939 to eschew such narrative forms and to adopt the same time-sequences as the other pro-Republican papers under review. The incomplete narrative form seemed the best adapted to Republican political ends.[11]

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[11] That Match should also employ this format, in a sequence of photographs that could as easily have been published in Picture Post, testifies to an intrinsic compatibility between the illustrated magazine format and documentary photo-reportage; the fact that, unlike Picture Post, Match also employed alternative narrative methods in its exploration of the refugee situation suggests that Match's political messages were best expressed through a variety of photographic styles. The open-ended structure seemed predominantly the territory of the pro-Republican press. (See Match, 1 December 1939, pp19-24, in which images illustrating the refugee plight, although open-ended in themselves, were incorporated into a larger, completed story: "Le Dernier Voyage du Yarbrook.")

Picture Post's open-ended coverage of the plight of refugees,[12] published in February 1939, conformed in almost every detail to the principles postulated by Rosler and Tagg, rendering it an archetypal documentary report. Although presented under a single, pathos-burdened heading - "The Tragedy of Spain" - in reality the photo-essay interwove three separate refugee histories connected by a common theme. Five images recording the progress of a convoy of horse-drawn carts, a narrative unit in itself, were preceded and followed by another eleven photographs, six of which depicted refugees escaping on foot, and five others interspersed with them showing refugees waiting passively by the roadside for rescue. There was no correspondence of personnel, time or location despite the article's assertion that these scenes took place "on the road from Tarragona northwards." In fact little linked each group of "fleeing" and "waiting" photographs beyond the concept of escape; different refugee groups were represented, in images which may even have been taken at opposite ends of Spain.

The sequence opened, significantly, with a photograph of two men and women walking behind a mule-drawn wagon loaded with bedding and baskets of belongings.[13] They were captured in mid-journey on a road bathed in sunshine in the open countryside; the title echoes the reassurance of the image: "On The Road That Leads To Safety..." while its caption describes the stoicism of ordinary people in the face of danger:

> They lived in the country outside Tarragona. When they knew that Franco's men were coming they put all their goods into a wagon. The wagon was so heavy they had to push. The road they had to go along was continually machine-gunned from the air. But they preferred to go.

The cause of their flight was, in accordance with Rosler's remarks, so vague that it could have been equated with fate or natural disaster.

The following two photographs detailed the secondary narrative themes interwoven with those of the opening photograph. The first[14] (Fig.62) was an image of considerable

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[12] Picture Post, 4 February 1939, p13-19.

[13] Picture Post, 4 February 1939, p13.

[14] Ibid, p14.

resonance, pathos etched as much into the representional elements of the photograph as into the caption which reinforced them. A woman still wearing her apron over a long, checked skirt, walked down a country road accompanied by her three children. The smallest she carried on her hip, the child's weight balanced by the heavy, wicker-covered water vessel hanging from her left shoulder. Her two little girls kept apace on the further edge of the road, both dressed in overcoats despite the late-summer warmth - a foresight against future cold. The older child had assumed the posture and walk of a young adult, a basket in one hand, a black umbrella almost as tall as she was in the other. Her small sister's stance echoed her mother's, a doll clasped in her arms where her mother held a child. The power of the image derives partly from the contrast of living human figures with the severity of stone and road for which they had exchanged their home; chiefly, however, it results from the gestures of the people themselves. The three children, even the smallest in her mother's arms, turned back towards the photographer as if nostalgic for the lives they were leaving behind; their mother, however, strode resolutely onwards, her face turned away from the camera's retrospection, mindful of the exigencies of the moment and the responsibilty she bore for three lives other than her own. It is in this that the pathos accrues, and in the detail of carefully chosen possessions - overcoats, an umbrella, a doll and a water-bottle - symbolising what was most worth salvaging from their former lives. The caption reinforced the pathos:

> The Tragedy of Spain: A Mother and Her Children Set Out On Foot. One little girl carries her doll. Another her basket with a little food and, of all things, an umbrella. The mother supports her youngest on her hip. At her back hangs something to drink when the children get thirsty on the way.

Although unspecified, the location and indeed underlying causes of this photograph are supposedly identical to those of the previous image.

The second image,[15] introducing another theme interspersed between the images of civilians fleeing with their carts, relegated the refugees to their most passive role. The notion of endless waiting was introduced in a simple photograph in which a group of middle-aged women dressed in requisite black stood patiently in a village street, their possessions heaped into crates. One of the women still wearing her checked apron half-

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[15] Ibid.

turned to the photographer; the caption-heading articulates her thoughts: "Will The Bus Come? Will They Be Able to Escape?" It also provides a partial explanation of their plight, though not its causes. "At first Tarragona was a place of refuge. Hundreds came in from outside. Then Tarragona fell. A rising tide of refugees headed for Barcelona." Like the previous images, this photograph too was open-ended, recording just one stage in the refugees' bid for freedom. The succeeding four images merely used new angles to depict the same patterns of refugees fleeing or waiting for help.

It was only the photo-essay's central section that seemed to record any development in the refugee story. Returning to the theme of the first image, the opening photograph[16] in this group presented itself as a spectacle within a spectacle, an individual tragedy unfurling within the context of the greater one enveloping much of civilian Spain. The seeds of danger sewn in the first image came to fruition in these four photographs, the first and most representative of which was bathetically titled: "A Human Tragedy: A Woman Loses Her Possessions." (Fig.63) Depicting a refugee cart tipped forward over a puddle spilling its contents onto the unsurfaced road, the photographer captured the figure of the woman owner at the rear walking distractedly along the edge of a drainage ditch at the scene of the calamity. In the foreground her two mules lay dead in their harnesses. The same scene recurred in the background of the image, while a third cart, as yet untouched, continued on its way. The crumbling wall of a roadside building reiterated the damage so vividly portrayed. Only the caption could explain the causes of this catastrophe, which it did in tones of deepest irony:

> Why its nothing much...such things are happening every day. She isn't even dead. Just a peasant woman who was walking down the road. The Italian planes came over. One flew low, firing its machine-gun at the people on the road. It just happened to kill her two mules. The cameraman reported: "She couldn't make out what had happened. She just walked blindly round and round her cart."

Picture Post thus sketched in some of the causes of the situation photographed, but concentrated as usual only on the most immediate - the attack of the Italian planes. Because the situation's deeper causes went unacknowledged, the image could find no

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[16] Ibid, p16.

constructive outlet for its anger. It moralised implicitly, but failed to convert outrage to action.

The same impulse was evident in the following photograph,[17] a full-page image which suggested, but failed to take advantage of, its own wider implications. Enlarged considerably, its background was filled with objects strewn from the old woman's wagon. Cushions, a mattress, blankets and pillows were all exposed to the camera, while the second broken cart in the background echoed the closer scene, implying metonymically that the same events were occurring all over Republican Spain. Once more the caption approaches, but shies away from, a blueprint for protest or change: "Is There No-One Who Could Stop This?" it asks rhetorically. "The Road They Hoped Would Lead To Safety Was Machine-Gunned From the Air," thereby effectively qualifying the sunny reassurance of the first image's title: "The Road That Leads To Safety." The body of the caption drew pathos from this very contrast, the clash between initial hope and grim reality:

> This was the road to Barcelona: the road they had been at such pains to take. Some had got up while it was still dark to get started. Some had stood for hours to get a seat in a cart or lorry. Then came the enemy...They flew low over the road. They saw the pathetic conveyances of the refugees. They machine-gunned them from the air, and flew away. There was nobody to stop them.

Separated by a single photograph[18] of a family setting out on foot through the grassy fields, "Walking, they hope, to safety," the final picture in this group was overtly biblical in its imagery.[19] Portraying a woman and child sitting at the front of their wagon, the man beside them cradling a lamb on his knees while the rumps of their two mules filled the foreground, the image was reminiscent of the Christian "Holy Family" and achieved an epic, timeless quality in its simple caption: "What Lies Ahead?" While the erosion of

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[17] Ibid, p17.

[18] Ibid, p18.

[19] Ibid.

the certainty and optimism of the first photograph effects a certain stylistic closure in this image, the sequence as a whole remains open, and the journey to safety continues.[20]

If one takes as a model of narrative structure that elaborated by Umberto Eco in his essay: "Strategies of Lying,"[21] the incompleteness of this photo-essay becomes clearer. Eco postulates a simplified pattern which he identifies as governing narratives as disparate as fairy tales, westerns, war movies and President Nixon's 1973 televised attempt to vindicate himself of the Watergate scandal. Common to each, as well as to Picture Post's narrative, is the presence of a *hero* or *heroes* (the refugees) who assert a *value* to be pursued ("The Road That Leads To Safety"), who, under the influence of a *villain* ("Franco's men were coming"), violate an *interdiction* in pursuit of that value ("the road...was continually machine-gunned from the air, but they preferred to go"), who suffer a *misfortune* as a result ("A Woman Loses Her Possessions"), but in whose favour a *rescuer* intervenes to struggle with the villain and, in defeating him, re-establishes the compromised value. That the readers of Picture Post may not have been familiar with such structuralist analyses is unimportant; this narrative form would have been no less recognisable to them. Picture Post's failure to complete the pattern can thus be seen as a deliberate rhetorical tactic, the magazine playing upon its readers' narrative expectations in order to reinforce its ideological position. The lack of a rescuer ("Is There No-One Who Could Stop This?"), and the fact that the value remained compromised ("What Lies Ahead?"), invites commitment if not action from the magazine's readers.

The fragmentary nature of the captions which accompany these images directs the reader to the accompanying article for explanation, where the same concepts previously enunciated are now elaborated. Thus a proliferation of adjectives like "pitiful" and "pathetic", and the mention of "suffering" and "losses", convey the requisite pathos, while

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[20] The four remaining images in the photo-essay (Picture Post, 4 February 1939, pp18-19) maintained this lack of resolution. Two represented "A Village [which had taken] To The Road Together," (Fig.64) men and women walking before or behind their communal wagon; a third depicted the arrival of the refugee truck which, though it ended the women's waiting, also continued their flight; and the fourth, titled significantly in this context: "Still Waiting..." showing an archetypal refugee woman sitting patiently by the roadside with her baby and simple possessions.

[21] Eco, Umberto: "Strategies of Lying," in Blonsky, M: On Signs, pp3-11.

non-intervention is posited in explanation of the refugee plight: "While people like these trudge the roads of Spain, we, through our representatives, are agreeing with the representatives of Italy and Germany, that non-intervention is to continue." Yet immediately this "flat rhetoric of evidence" is transformed, as Tagg recognised, into the "emotionalised drama of experience" as the article proceeds. "For more than two years Italians and Germans have been waging a war on the men, women and children of Spain. Civilisation, as two great nations understand it, did nothing to prevent them. But it could have done something had it wanted..." The vaguely-defined "civilisation" already deflects responsibility; nor was Picture Post's proposed remedy any more concrete. "Shall we wish," it proceeds, "[when Spain becomes a hostile territory] that we had not thought the sufferings of Spain to be no concern of ours?" Although passionate and concerned, Picture Post seemed nevertheless unable to channel this energy into any immediate and constructive strategy. Stuart Hall puts this most succinctly in his critique of the magazine:

> Picture Post's "social eye" was a clear lens but its political eye was far less decisive. It pinpointed exploitation, misery and social abuse but always in a language which defined these as "problems" to be tackled and remedied with energy and goodwill: it was instinctively reformist...It never found a way (this is a matter of technique as well) of relating the surface images of these problems to their structural foundations. There is a rhetoric of change and improvement there...but there isn't anywhere a language of dissent, opposition or revolt.[22]

The "social eye" of Picture Post, at least in its representation of refugees, remained bedazzled by the spectacle of suffering, a notion already implicit in the theatrical metaphor of the essay's title: "TRAGEDY OF SPAIN."

The pro-Republican press was not, however, simply content to portray the refugees as having embarked on lengthy journeys; those journeys were frequently represented in the imagery of epic, its participants elevated into icons of suffering and endurance. The exodus of the Old Testament, and pilgrimages of more recent times, furnished a storehouse of iconographical material upon which the pro-Republican press could draw;

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[22] Hall, Stuart: "The Social Eye of Picture Post," Working Papers in Cultural Studies, vol 2, Spring 1972, p109. See also: Dennett, Terry and Jo Spence (eds): Photography/Politics: One, p27.

it was chiefly the French publications which availed themselves of such sources, Vu enlisting the talents of photographers like Reisner and Capa in order to do so.

The quality of epic pertained as much to the individual as to the mass of refugees in the pro-Republican press, as Capa asserted in a photograph published in Vu[23] on 23 September. Dressed simply in traditional peasant attire - a skirt of coarse material and a blouse with a large flat collar - a woman in her early forties was photographed standing in an open field carrying her possessions in a large, blanket-wrapped bundle. Her thick, dark hair was brushed austerely back off her face which was lined with exhaustion, her brows knitted in anxiety. Her solitary state, her coarse clothing, the possessions she carried and indeed the long, thin pole planted beside her all imply that she had embarked on a pilgrimage rather than a flight from the ravages of war. The caption, injecting pathos, makes this suggestion explicit: "Solitaire, les larmes coulant sans bruit sur ses joues, cette pèlerine emporte avec elle tout son humble bien." A second Capa photograph[24] represented the migration of a family group in no less epic terms. Thus another peasant woman carrying a baby in her arms, followed by a man carrying an older child, a young boy on foot and a pair of mules, were photographed walking along a railway-line - a detail connoting great distances to be covered under harsh conditions of climate and terrain. Again the caption extrapolates an epic journey; certainly the vision of mules, peasants and children struggling across the country under a harsh sun contains the universal elements of all exoduses since Old Testament times: "C'est la migration du peuple d'une province toute entière, au pas lent des mulets lourdement chargés, parmi les cris des enfants, sur le dur soleil."[25]

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[23] Vu, 23 September 1936, p1107. This and the following pictures were published on the page facing Capa's famous "Death of a Republican Soldier" photograph, the headline to the refugee images: "COMMENT ILS ONT FUI" providing a rejoinder to that of the previous page: "COMMENT ILS SONT TOMBÉS."

[24] Ibid.

[25] Georg Reisner's image, also of a refugee family fleeing along a railway line, carried much of the same power although its epic dimension was brought out more subtlely in its caption ("Longeant les rails infinis...") See Vu, 23 September 1936, p1107. A photograph reproduced in both Regards (15 October 1936, p5) and Paris-Soir (8 October 1936, p14) also evoked the epic dimension of the refugee exodus by depicting a large number of men, women and children, accompanied by horses and mule-drawn carts, breaking camp beneath a crumbling fortress.

It was, however, another Capa photograph[26] and caption which made the historical allusion specific. The customary grouping of peasant women and children, the women scarved and dressed in black, were photographed in mid-journey across the open countryside, an elderly grandmother being assisted as she walked. One of the younger women held a child on her hip; another carried an infant bundled in blankets. The timelessness of this simple image was evoked unambiguously in the caption: "Telle une scène calquée sur la Bible, la vision de ces trois fugitifs au visage douloureux évoque les exodes tragiques de l'Ancien Testament."

Just as the epic journey became for the pro-Republican press an effective propagandist instrument tapping deeply into its public's sense of history and religion, so too was the image as icon able to forge powerful notions of suffering, endurance and pathos, derived in part from Judeo-Christian belief, into potent political tools. These icons took almost invariably a female form, frequently mother and child ensembles; an image reproduced in Vu[27] was typical. Simple in its structure, this photograph depicted a dark-eyed, gaunt-faced woman staring directly back at the camera, a fair-haired child held close to her on her lap. Instinctively raising one hand to protect the child's face from the camera, the woman's gaze was almost accusatory. Her child's eyes were innocently averted. It was the shawl draped over the woman's head and the child's shoulders which linked the two so clearly in a relationship which transformed the particular into the eternal, recalling the Madonna and Child of Christian iconography. The caption chose not to labour the analogy evoked so unmistakably in the image, restricting itself to the immediate: "Pendant un bombardement aérien, une paysanne réfugiée emport son enfant jusqu'à l'abri le plus proche."

A similar photograph appeared in the Daily Herald[28] two weeks earlier - a long, vertical image depicting a woman dressed in black, her eyes covered by her scarf, being led by a small child. With a bundle of clothes under one arm, and the child's hand in hers, the

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[26] Vu, 23 September 1936, p1107.

[27] Vu, 30 December 1936, p1627.

[28] Daily Herald, 17 December 1936, p20.

woman seemed blinded by grief or exhaustion. Staring directly at the camera, the little girl wore as many clothes as she could manage, shabby, ill-matched, but warm against the winter cold in jumper, overcoat and scarf. The mother-child relationship is evoked in the name of a timeless pathos: "Sad-faced mother and child, typical of so many, who day after day defied Franco's bombs - leaving home at last with their only possessions." Its pathos represented as metonym, this photograph derived its power from the evocation of suffering experienced and stoically endured by refugee women and children all over Spain, and found its echo in numerous other such photographs.[29]

The mother and child icon was only matched in power by the image of despair, almost invariably personified by a woman. In Vu this sometimes - but not always - carried biblical connotations, as in its photograph of 14 October[30] in which a middle-aged peasant woman was photographed sitting alone on a low bed, her head in one hand while the other hung limply by her knee. The image carried an aura of timelessness; the pathos of its caption, which laid detail on sorrowful detail, fused with the woman's tragic expression to become an iconic statement of endurance. "Mater dolorosa..." it begins, continuing:

> cette paysanne de la province de Tolède. Son visage reflète l'accablement...L'accablement qui succède à la plus grande douleur. Les vêtements sont noirs. Le mari se bat, la-bas, dans la Sierra de Guadarrama. L'enfant est resté au village, couché, froid, sur la terre, victime des balles adversaires...

If the caption seems melodramatic to a modern audience, the image still retains a certain power in its representation of an eternity of suffering.

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If the open-ended narrative structure could be seen as charactersitic of and politically integral to the pro-Republican press' representation of refugees in Spain, the pro-Insurgent

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[29] See for example: Daily Herald, 9 December 1936, p11 (titled: "Their Homes Once stood in Madrid...") (Fig.65); Daily Worker, 3 September 1936, p1 ("Driven From Homes"); Regards, 26 November 1936, p12, credited to "Chim".

[30] Vu, 14 October 1936, p1029.

press of both nations favoured the closed, resolved narrative form better suited to the single images they preferred to publish. Although Paris-Soir, Le Matin, Match and the Daily Mail all included some photographs which depicted refugees in mid-flight, the larger part of the images reproduced in the pro-Insurgent press showed them having reached their destinations, their passage complete. The causes of their flight were of little interest, perhaps because the Insurgent role in this was not easily defended: as Raymond Carr notes in The Spanish Tragedy, the movement of the war involved on the whole a Nationalist advance into Republican territory,[31] so that the civilian exodus could be seen as composed chiefly of Republican sympathisers fleeing the Insurgent approach. This, however, was rarely made explicit; refugees were rarely represented as having any political consciousness whatsoever. Moreover, the representation of refugee histories as largely completed was one method of limiting responsibility, or lessening its weight, since the refugee plight could be shown to be less grim than the pro-Republican press asserted. Thus numerous images appeared in the pro-Insurgent press of both nations showing refugees safely arrived over the French border, their journeys by boat or overland happily concluded. The focus was on the point of arrival rather than the process of escape, disembarkation on the beaches of France the most accessible and therefore most frequently photographed refugee subject in both the French and British pro-Insurgent press under review. Pathos was present but downplayed; the refugee plight was cause for concern, but not for anguished compassion.

Not struggle but the relaxation of struggle, arrival rather than the journey, was thus the concern of the majority of refugee images in the pro-Insurgent press. To this end it reproduced a number of photographs depicting Spaniards crossing the International Bridge from Irún into Hendaye,[32] Paris-Soir even showing some ushering herds of cattle before them, accompanying horse-drawn carts, or staggering to "freedom" under sack-loads of

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[31] Carr, Raymond: The Spanish Tragedy, p124.

[32] Le Matin, 2 September 1936, p1; L'Illustration, 12 September 1936, p41, this version in green sepia; Daily Mail, 2 September 1936, p16.

possessions.[33] Both L'Illustration and the Illustrated London News showed some fascination with the activities of refugees once they had reached the safety of Hendaye beach, photographically precluding questions about their presence there in the first place. On 12 September for example the Illustrated London News[34] printed a series of four photographs (Fig.66) under the heading: "Innocent Victims of the Spanish Civil War: The Pitiful Plight of Irun Refugees," various combinations of which appeared in the pro-Insurgent press during the same week.[35] One of the four depicted two middle-aged Spanish men standing knee-deep in water lifting an elderly, white-haired woman to safety from the wooden rowboat in which they had crossed the Bidassoa. Concentrating on etiquette rather than causes, the caption remarks: "Courtesy and chivalry to the aged in distress: an old Spanish woman refugee being lifted to safety in France."[36]

The Illustrated London News' other three photographs focused on the presence of children. One of the three[37] showed two small boys playing happily on the sea-shore, completely absorbed in building sand-castles. Behind them in the middle-ground two black-dressed women sat with young babies on their knees, a pile of blankets beside them. Another woman stood looking forlornly off-frame, while more children played amidst the adults. A single man stood at the image's right-hand edge. Significantly, perhaps, all the women had their backs to the sea and the town they have just left on the opposite shore, as if banishing thoughts of home. The caption simply highlights the contrast between the women's sense of responsibility and the children's insouciance: "Too young to realise the horrors of war and their own predicament: little Spanish refugee boys building sand-castles on the beach at Hendaye, across the French frontier."

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[33] These images were all reproduced together in Paris-Soir, 4 September 1936, p12. L'Illustration also depicted the inhabitants of Behobie crossing the International Bridge with their cattle (12 September 1936, p45).

[34] Illustrated London News, 12 September 1936, p439.

[35] See for example Le Matin, 5 September 1936, p1. Other publications are cited below.

[36] This image appeared with two other images on the cover of L'Illustration, 12 September 1936; and in Paris-Soir, 6 September 1936, p10.

[37] Illustrated London News, 12 September 1936, p439.

Children were prominent in the second picture[38] as well, a crowd of refugee women sitting with them on the sand at Hendaye Beach, surrounded by piles of blankets. One of the women held a child in her arms; the caption, invoking pathos, clearly saw this group as helpless victims, but did not neglect nevertheless to reiterate the safety they had found in France: "A pathetic group among the crowd of refugees from Irun who had sought safety at Hendaye, in France: A Spanish woman nursing her child among a few belongings saved from her home."

The final photograph[39] carried more powerful resonances than the other three. Among the thin grass some distance from the water's edge, a young girl and a small child both dressed in white perched on a pile of blankets. Sitting beside them, and contrasting sharply in appearance, age and emotion, a woman in black wept. With her back to the water, to her home and to her fellow villagers clustered in family groups on the shore, she seemed to be seeking privacy in order to give in to her grief. The caption exploits the emotional power of her plight, but does not fail to recall she had arrived safely with her two children and at least some possessions in a place of assylum: "Overcome by sorrow and suffering: an old Spanish woman gives way to tears as she rests on the beach at Hendaye after her flight to Irun, with two little girls and a few household possessions."

Comparison of this photograph with its publication in the Daily Worker[40] and Vu[41] demonstrates the manner in which the pro-Insurgent press, unlike the pro-Republican publications, attempted to limit the emotional and political implications of the refugee images by focusing on the fact of arrival. The Daily Worker's caption-writer, perhaps attracted by the icon-like quality of the image, stressed the pathos of the woman's situation while maintaining that the refugees' suffering was not yet over: "A broken-hearted woman, a refugee from Irun, her home in flames, driven out of her native land by Moors and Foreign Legion criminals, is stranded in a foreign land to take up life

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Daily Worker, 7 September 1936, p5.

[41] Vu, 9 September 1936, p1047.

anew." The image was titled: "This Is What Fascism Does." Vu cropped the two children out of *its* version altogether (Fig.67), the woman alone a more powerful symbol of suffering, although the childhood element was reintroduced in a second photograph beside it. Able to find grounds for optimism, Vu's version also emphasized that the refugees' troubles had not ended with their arrival in France. Its image emotively headed: "L'AGONIE D'IRUN", the caption read: "De l'autre côté de la rive, le cauchemar est fini, mais un nouveau drame commence. Et tandis que les vieilles pleurent tout un passé, de temps en temps un sourire innocent d'enfant redonne une raison de vivre."

The article accompanying the Illustrated London News' refugee images gave glancing recognition to the cause of the refugees' plight ("when Irun fell to the rebel forces"), concentrating on the means by which the refugees arrived at Hendaye ("Some came across the International Bridge, under fire from the rebels, and others were brought across the river in boats...Some even jumped into the river, and swam or waded across"). It recounted the contents of the photographs before concluding with a reflection which would emerge as the pro-Insurgent press' most notable response to the refugee condition, the problems they posed for their hosts: "The French authorities at Hendaye were faced with a difficult problem in dealing with the crowds of refugees who numbered in all over 8,000."

The Illustrated London News' most important refugee photograph,[42] and its only one to broach the question of causality in visual terms, did so in a manner which sensationalised the issue while obscuring all but the most superficial understanding of it. Published in the same edition as the images discussed above, the photograph was blown up to cover two full pages, this alone testifying to the attention the editors felt it deserved. While in previous images refugees had been shown ignoring the scene of their former life but not yet broaching the new, absorbed in their immediate concerns, this photograph was taken as if through refugee eyes and fully embraced the view off-shore. Standing high up the beach, the photographer captured four planes of activity. In the first, nearest the camera, a small girl in white shoes and overcoat stood beside a pile of blankets and bedrolls

[42] Illustrated London News, 12 September 1936, pp440-1.

heaped together on the sand. In the second plane a row of five women stood looking out across the water. At the river's edge a large group of men and some women also paused, their backs too to the camera, another pile of possessions at their feet. A number of boats were moored close by. In the third a lone rower was captured bringing his dingy into shore over the deserted water. It was what was visible beyond him, however, that rivetted the attention of the men and women on the beach, and constituted the final plane of the image. Great clouds of smoke billowed into the sky from the distant hills signalling the razing of Irún by, according to Hugh Thomas, a detachment of Asturian anarchists, some local communists, and French and Belgian technicians sent by the French Communist Party.[43] Captioned "The Burning of Irun as seen by its inhabitants escaped to France: Spanish refugees at Hendaye gazing at the distant fire," the image was striking not just for the drama of the scene depicted, but also for its simultaneous depiction of immediate cause and result. Yet the sensationalised drama of the moment precluded any more searching appraisal of the event represented; deeper causes and responsibilities remained unexplored in the pages of the Illustrated London News.

In its attempts to circumscribe the repercussions of the refugee situation, the pro-Insurgent press represented the issue as a finite problem of limited duration, the closed narrative form restricting the power of epic and icon by reducing their representational field. Denied a history of associations, these pro-Insurgent refugee images remained instead firmly anchored in the realm of the immediate. The French pro-Insurgent press in particular concentrated on the practical aspects of the refugees' arrival; portraying the refugees as docile and incapable of self-preservation, wholly dependent on the ministrations of external authorities for their well-being and survival. This in turn suggested the underlying anxieties with which the pro-Insurgent press of both nations aproached the refugee question, concerned as they manifestly were with the implications of their exodus for the places of assylum. That the pro-Republican press over the same period published only a

[43] Thomas, Hugh: The Spanish Civil War, p378-9. See also above, Chapter 3, Part A: Semiology and the Changing Cityscape, p165ff.

single photograph expressing such concerns[44] indicates the extent to which a political agenda was built into these representations.

Refugee passivity was measured in numerous images showing Spanish civilians in the care of foreign rescuers,[45] or being regimented by foreign officialdom;[46] such images were especially common in the French publications. Children were the ideal subjects of such photographs, although passivity and docility were equally imposed on adults. Thus in September Le Matin[47] reproduced a photograph in which two sailors in pristine white uniforms assisted a small girl about five years old to disembark from a refugee boat. Walking across a narrow gang-plank, the girl was guided by the sailor walking behind her and another waiting below her on the dock. A woman, presumably her mother, was excluded from the action as if incapable of providing adequate care; she could only look on anxiously from one side. Captioned: "117 réfugiés venant d'Espagne sont débarqués à Marseille par le torpilleur britannique *Ardente*," the image's contents were less important than what they represented - the little girl standing as a metonym for numerous other refugees passively being rescued by the exertions of foreigners.

More common were photographs of refugees being marshalled through the bureaucratic procedures associated with arrival in a foreign country. Thus Paris-Soir[48] and L'Illustration[49] reproduced photographs of Spanish refugees waiting to be vaccinated at their point of arrival in France, as if unclean carriers of contagious disease, while L'Illustration[50] and Match[51] printed images of refugees forming orderly queues for

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[44] See below, p263 and n57 for a discussion of this image in Vu, 2 September 1936, cover.

[45] See for example the Illustrated London News, 8 August 1936, p240, for images of refugees being taken aboard the British Destroyer *Brazen*.

[46] Le Matin, 1 November 1936, p1, depicted refugees waiting to be interrogated by French officials at the border, for instance, while the Daily Mail, 1 August 1936, p10, portrayed others being searched before entering Gibraltar.

[47] Le Matin, 18 September 1936, p8.

[48] Paris-Soir, 1 September 1936, p10.

[49] L'Illustration, 26 September 1936, p110.

[50] Ibid.

meals in refectories in transformed schools, or of young children being fed by benevolent women. Once again children featured with particular frequency, eating, or settled in dormitories,[52] each image once again associating the refugees with notions of docility, passivity and dependency.

While refugee passivity was above all the province of the French pro-Insurgent press, its implications were equally pressing for the pro-Insurgent publications in both Britain and France. The Daily Mail and the Illustrated London News reproduced a number of photographs depicting refugees pleading for assylum at the gates of Gibraltar; while Paris-Soir, Le Matin, L'Illustration and Match were particularly concerned with the status of refugees once they arrived on French territory.

The situation at Gibraltar was one of the earliest refugee subjects to be examined in the pro-Insurgent British press, the Daily Mail[53] as early as 24 July depicting refugees - many female, some dressed in black - crossing the barbed wire fences of the Gibraltar frontier under the impassive gaze of border guards. Such free passage changed within a few pages of the newspaper to interdiction. Thus the following refugee photograph[54] depicted three British border guards dressed in short trousers and long socks, one at least with a truncheon or rifle at his side, as they faced a crowd of women and children clamouring for entry at the gates. The caption doubled as a warning: "British troops controlling the rush of refugees - mostly women and children, into Gibraltar. Every person wishing to enter the colony was closely scrutinised, and any Spaniard leaving was warned that they would not be allowed to return."

Anxious not to be swamped by more people than they could accomodate, the British authorities were represented, in the second image on this page,[55] (Fig.68) by soldiers, massed

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[51] Match, 2 February 1939, p17.

[52] Ibid, p16.

[53] Daily Mail, 24 July 1936, p12.

[54] Ibid, p20.

[55] Ibid.

behind gates held ajar, refusing entry to any more refugees. The photograph itself is most effective. Taken unequivocally from the British perspective, from inside the border gates focusing on the uniformed backs of the soldiers conscientiously protecting British interests, the image represented the desperate crowd of refugees with a single face - that of a refugee woman visible over the shoulders of the obstructing soldiers. Between security and danger stood an impenetrable iron gate, a high fence and a watchtower overlooking the entire scene. A beam of wood crossing the image's foreground hinted that the existing barrier had been strengthened and reinforced, externalising British fears of being overwhelmed by the massing crowds; the presence of a soldier's truncheon, although invisible to the civilians outside, suggested the seriousness with which the authorities regarded the situation. But British fears were allayed by a caption asserting that order was being maintained nevertheless:

> The number of Spanish refugees at Gibraltar is estimated at 15,000, and after the shelling of La Linea there was a great stampede for sanctuary. But the frontier gates had already been closed, and the guard is opening them here just sufficiently to answer foreigners' enquiries.

Anxiety at the thought of "stampeding foreigners" was even more directly expressed in the Illustrated London News.[56] Under a title of considerable irony ("A Haven of Refuge") given the photographs which were used to illustrate it, the publication published six images of which four were overtly defensive. Fire Brigade members with long hoses reinforced the frontier troops in the first of these photographs, prepared as they were "to resist any rush of refugees from Spanish territory, when the fortress could take no more." The next photograph focused on a row of peasant women and children confronting troops brandishing rifles and bayonets; the exclusion of these Spaniards from the safety of Gibraltar was, however, rationally explained: "Attempting to gain access to Gibraltar," the caption begins, as if the women and children had been caught trespassing. "The frontier guarded so that a limit might be set to the number of Spanish refugees, since the fortress became so crowded that that there was a risk of epidemics." The third of these four photographs depicted the entry of a small number of civilians into the British protectorate, permitted into a no-man's-land distinguished by yet another barbed-wire fence. The caption,

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[56] Illustrated London News, 1 August 1936, p188.

however, emphasized exclusion rather than entry: "An additional barbed-wire fence erected at the British frontier at Gibraltar and a strongly reinforced guard: Crowds pressing against the railings in the hope of being admitted to a place of security within." When finally the authorities relented sufficiently to allow the passage of one tiny girl across the Gibraltar border, this was represented as a humanitarian gesture amidst the all-important preservation of British discipline over the foreign masses: "A little girl being admitted - while the frontier gates are pressed back to keep out a crowd of other Spanish refugees: an episode in the maintenance of control at Gibraltar." Such instances of generosity were ultimately rendered meaningless by the assertion of the accompanying article: "On 25 July the Gibraltar Government ordered most of the Spanish refugees to return home. The order was made on the advice of medical authorities, as the fortress and town were so overcrowded that there was the risk of an epidemic..." What is intriguing in both this and the Daily Mail's photographs is the identification of the refugees as the enemy, victims transformed into aggressors whose advance on Gibraltar provoked anxiety, if not hysteria, amongst the protectorate's defenders.

If the British, sharing only the border of Gibraltar with Spain, felt as the pro-Insurgent press suggested so threatened by the refugee exodus, how much greater must have been the reaction of the pro-Insurgent French, whose entire south-west frontier was Spanish! Yet lacking the invasion-paranoia of the British, the French pro-Insurgent press expressed its anxieties concerning the refugee issue quite differently. On 2 September the pro-Republican magazine Vu[57] printed on its cover a photograph of a French sailor cradling a refugee baby on his knees under the heading: "La France, Terre d'Asile. Ou vont les réfugiés d'Espagne? Une enquête de Paul Allard." (Fig.69). While reproduced with alternative captions in the Illustrated London News[58] and Le Matin,[59] the latter in fact asserting that the child was a French infant being repatriated under the sailor's care, Vu described the sailor as "Un marin [qui] tient dans ses bras un enfant de réfugiés espagnols qui s'embarquent pour la France." As used on the cover of Vu, the photograph articulated

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[57] Vu, 2 September 1936, cover.

[58] Illustrated London News, 1 August 1936, p188.

[59] Le Matin, 28 July 1936, p8.

visually the notion of France's reputation as a sanctuary for exiles. While this notion was not rejected by the pro-Insurgent press, they did inflect it according to their own particular concerns; this was perhaps best demonstrated in a series of photographs published in L'Illustration[60] on 26 September.

These images depicted "Le Cas des Pêcheurs de Fontarabie" in three photographs describing their daily life in France as their country of refuge. The first, taken from a distance, captured three fishing vessels at low tide sitting on the mudflats of the Bay of Chongondy, their owners' tiny figures just visible on the decks. The manipulation of a sail had transformed the decks into sleeping quarters. The second pictured five children playing on the sand on the same beach, amusing themselves while their parents presumably attended to more pressing tasks. The third showed a mother and child standing on the front of a fishing boat, a tarpaulin tent rigged up at the stern, a small bird-cage hanging from the boom reminiscent of a once "normal" civilian life. Each photograph depicts these refugee families as completely self-reliant, remaining wholly independent from the French authorities. The long article accompanying the photographs explained that the refugees, "sans être très politiciers de tempérament," had been forced to leave Spain after "les évènements d'Irun, la terreur des pillards anarchists" and had become model refugees in France. "Ces gens-là sont les plus agréables réfugiés du monde," the caption enthuses, their alleged apoliticism presumably playing a not insignificant role in generating so warm a reception. Further reasons for French enthusiasm became rapidly apparent. "Ils n'exigent rien. Bien plus, ils ne demandent rien; ils se contentent de vivre sur leurs humbles provisions, protégés contre les mauvais hasards par l'obligeante courtoisie de la vieille France..." Other, less self-reliant refugees were presumably less "agréable". L'Illustration was here congratulating the French on their generosity in welcoming these refugees to French shores, despite the fact that so little was required of them as hosts. Indeed the "pêcheurs de Fontarabie" could, in the most orthodox sense, hardly be considered refugees at all. But it is the terms of the congratulations offered by these publications which indicate deeper, barely articulated fears - that a massive influx of Spanish civilians over the French border might not only destabilise the region

[60] L'Illustration, 26 September 1936, p111.

politically, but in the shorter term create an immediate and unsustainable drain on local French resources. As was observed in the case of the British pro-Insurgent press, the French too perceived the refugee experience in terms of their own anxieties, compassion at most a secondary concern.

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The photographic representation of refugees in the French and British press largely complied with three of the charactersitics postulated by Rosler and Tagg in definition of the documentary genre. It presupposed and reinforced a relationship between powerful reader and powerless subject; it attempted to recruit a broad lay audience into consensus with these relations; and expressed only with considerable vagueness the causes of this difference in status. The remaining principles were however differentially adopted according to the ideological preferences of the publications in question. Thus calls for reform, rather than radical change, both of which were absent from the pro-Insurgent press, found expression in those publications sympathetic to the Republican cause, as did the tendency to moralise and emotionalise the refugee issue.

While the power relationship documentary photography articulated between reader and subject relegated the refugee invariably to the position of docile, feminised victim, the French and British press of opposing sympathies differed considerably in the manner in which they represented these victims. While the pro-Insurgent press of both nations situated them in closed histories with positive, finite outcomes - generally of rescue effected or security attained - the pro-Republican press left their stories open and their fate unsealed. Photographed in mid-flight on epic journeys, or as icons epitomizing an age-old suffering, the refugees were represented in a manner which tapped deeply into a history of Judeo-Christian collective beliefs and art-historical traditions present equally in the culture of Britain and France; into these images was injected a persuasive power deliberately absent from their pro-Insurgent equivalents. The pathos which the pro-Republican press generated through these images guaranteed them a certain impact, while condemning them, paradoxically, to political impotence. As Allan Sekula writes:

> The subjective aspect of liberal aesthetics is compassion rather than collective struggle. Pity, mediated by an appreciation of great art, supplants political understanding.[61]

Without political understanding there could be no vision of political change.

The limitations of documentary photography were most clearly demonstrated in the photo-essays of Picture Post - perhaps the truest approximation to Rosler and Tagg's definition of documentary. Its interwoven image sequences taken "on the road to Tarragona northwards" implied an ongoing state of suffering endured by refugees on countless, individual journeys across Spain. While the deeper reasons for this mass civilian mobilisation remained ill-defined, conceptualised as vaguely as if they were misfortunes brought about at the hand of an immutable fate, the element of pathos was constantly present in the images themselves and their captions. Yet the desired outcome of the reproduction of such photographs was as ill-defined as the causes which generated them. Wishing its public would consider the sufferings of Spain to be of immediate concern was hardly a blueprint for change; yet the magazine failed to capitalise on the sympathies it was so adept at arousing. As Stuart Hall writes: "What the rhetoric of Picture Post could not do was to use photographs and text in such a way to "make the invisible relations visible","[62] and use this visibility to promote the changes for which it called.

In Hall's view, for Picture Post to become truly effective, and to contest the limitations of documentary, the magazine would have had to have done more than simply publish compassionate or pathos-filled images of misfortune. It needed to rework the form of documentary photography itself, and its context of publication, in order to constitute any real challenge to the order it claimed to oppose. Hall enlists Walter Benjamin's assistance in this critique:

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[61] Sekula, Allan: "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary: Notes on the Politics of Representation," in Dennett, Terry and Jo Spence (eds): Photography/Politics One, p179.

[62] Hall, Stuart: "The Social Eye of *Picture Post*," p114.

> ...transmitting an apparatus of production without - as much as possible - transforming it is a highly debatable procedure even when the content of that apparatus which is transmitted seems to be revolutionary in nature.[63]

Instead, the incidence of suffering - in this case that of the refugees - was reduced in the pages of Picture Post, as in the rest of the pro-Republican press, to the frozen antics of spectacle.

Spectacle too characterised the pro-Insurgent press' representation of civil war refugees; however theirs was a spectacle in which pragmatism supplanted pathos. Refugee passivity and dependence on the ministrations of the authorities which received them, although largely cultural and photographic constructs, provided visual justification for the reticence with which they were received in Gibraltar as well as in some quarters of France. British invasion paranoia was matched by a French concern about the strains a large influx of Spanish nationals might impose upon the status quo. These fears in France were best expressed inversely, in photographs praising the Fuentarabian fishermen for being model refugees, based chiefly upon their exceptional independence from the authorities in France. Yet the lack of reformist zeal, of any emotionalising or moralising about the refugee condition, and the almost total avoidance of the question of causality, seem to suggest that the pro-Insurgent press' representation of refugees shared in fact only the basic elements in Rosler and Tagg's definition.

Such discrepancies notwithstanding, Rosler's conclusion concerning the professed aims of contemporary news broadcasters reporting to their listeners "what they saw out there in the wilderness today," still holds strong as a description of the illustrated press' representation of these "victims", regardless of the political affiliation of the publications concerned. These photographs of refugees - and the spectacle of suffering they furnished - made explicit both the subjects which aroused the fascination of the British and French, and the anxieties, perhaps unconscious, operating within the collective imagination of both nations. The repeated representation of refugee passivity, docility, and powerlessness, whether in epic or circumscribed narratives, identified these characteristics as central to

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[63] Benjamin, Walter: "The Author as Producer," in Hall, Stuart: "The Social Eye of Picture Post," p114. Also cited in Burgin, Victor (ed): Thinking Photograhy, p22.

especially the French but also the British conception of victims; nor was it mere coincidence that they were also widely held as defining qualities of women and children, who more than any other social group were identified with the refugee archetype. Positive images of women at arms notwithstanding, there remained within the popular *mentalité* of each nation a powerful current which identified women as helpless and weak; female victims were thus best fitted to elicit pathos on behalf of the refugee plight.

These photographs also enunciated deepfelt anxieties on either side concerning the unknown Other. Invasion by Spanish "foreigners" loomed as a particular threat, recast by the British press as a fear of epidemics at Gibraltar. Across the Channel similar fears were revealed in French anxiety over the new social and economic burdens the refugees brought to a nation still experiencing the effects of depression. Indeed fascination with the cost of war to individual lives, most frequently expressed in the pro-Republican press, can itself be seen as a form of anxiety given the widespread apprehension that the conflict in Spain might errupt into a European conflagration. If photographs of refugees in the French and British press can be considered a form of spectacle, it was a spectacle which demonstrated above all the neuroses in the *mentalité* of the British and French who feared their own fate was inscribed in these icons from Spain.

CONCLUSIONS

IF NOT ABOUT SPAIN...HISTORY, PHOTOGRAPHY, *MENTALITÉ.*

Strictly speaking, one never understands anything from a photograph.

Susan Sontag: On Photography, p23.

In 1941, the American production company Paramount began shooting the first scenes of a film set in civil war Spain based upon Ernest Hemingway's new novel: For Whom the Bell Tolls. Two first class actors, Gary Cooper and Ingrid Bergman, were chosen to lead the cast in what was hoped would be a successor to the 1939 box office hit, Gone With the Wind. Despite the novel's Republican perspective, this film was to be above all entertaining, which meant apolitical, its attitudes in line with the spirit of neutrality adopted by the American government and allegedly by the silent majority of the American people over the Spanish Civil War. When, during the course of filming, the United States entered the Second World War against Japan and its Italian and German allies, a certain anti-fascist tone could be permitted in the film since it lay in the interests of American patriotic propaganda. Nevertheless, the film's political background was assiduously downplayed. The final editing of the film favoured the love-story, to the detriment of the political scenes which were vigorously cut or omitted altogether; reality in Spain, even as refracted through Hemingway's fictionalisation, was made to conform above all to the requirements of Hollywood entertainment.[1]

What Hollywood in fact effected in its version of For Whom the Bell Tolls was a "hollowing out" of Spanish specificity with regard to the civil war, and its replacement

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[1] Géneviève Ostyn, in "Pour qui sonne le glas: L'Espagne: non; Les Etats-Unis: oui" (Revue Belge du Cinéma, automne 1986, no 17, p43) writes that: "Le film est un produit de l'industrie du cinéma américain, obligée d'adapter sa production aux goûts et au mode de la vie d'un public aussi large que possible...Le public atteint doit être aussi étendu que possible, puisque le film possède, en plus de sa valeur d'utilisation, une certaine valeur d'échange et que, comme toute autre industrie, il doit satisfaire aux mécanismes du marché."

with its own cultural and ideological concerns.[2] Nicholas Hewitt has observed the same process at work in the contemporary French novel inspired by events in Spain in which he detected "the subordination of the particularity of the Spanish Civil War to French national or general philosophical concerns."[3] What has been found to be true of film and the novel remains no less valid for the photography of the civil war, and may indeed be a tendency among all visual and textual representations operating within so highly-charged a political context.

Allegations, that the images of Spain published in the newspapers of Britain and France provided merely a pretext for the expression of quite other preoccupations, are serious ones in the case of press photography, which makes claims to truthfulness and objectivity which artistic and fictional representations never do. Nevertheless, as has been shown throughout this study, the more closely one examines the press photographs of the Spanish Civil War, the more one learns about the preoccupations of the countries which produced and consumed those images. Thus by privileging the photograph, beginning with it and working back through its codes and layers of signification, by respecting its context and observing its relationship with other representations, by detecting the atypical and the stereotypical in the sequences to which it belongs, the visual historian has unparalleled access to a society's perceptual framework. The common attitudes upon which ideological messages depend in order to signify and persuade, attitudes taken for granted in ordinary discourse, are present in images, and particularly in photographs, in a way they are not in other forms of representation. In his discussion of iconography and *mentalité* Michel Vovelle affirms that visual sources

> ...offrent des perspectives d'exploitation renouvelées...je dirai qu'elles peuvent sembler, par certains aspects, plus "innocentes" ou en tout cas plus révélatrices que le discours écrit ou oral, par les significations que l'on peut en extraire, en termes des confessions involontaires...[4]

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[2] Judith Williamson has identified this process at work in advertising imagery. See her: Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising, Marion Boyars, London, 1978, especially p165.

[3] Hewitt, Nicholas: ""Partir pour quelque part": French novelists of the Right and the Spanish Metaphor, 1936-39" in Romance Studies, no 3, Winter 1983-84, pp103-121.

[4] Vovelle, Michel: Idéologies et mentalités, p55.

It is precisely these "involuntary confessions" which render the photograph so replete with cultural significance, able to offer insights into the popular mentality not transmitted by more elitist works of art.

Thus this thesis has found historical validity in the use of photographic records as an *entrée* into the *mentalité* not of Spain but of 1930s Britain and France. It argues that the images of Spain produced by these countries relate directly to the collective attitudes which underlie and surround these images, that it is upon these belief systems and assumptions that the photograph's signification ultimately depends, and that these images provide unique access to the mentality of a particular era.

Yet using images as a way into a popular mentality is not without its difficulties. Images often present themselves as far more obtuse than written discourse. They can be elusive, the expression of ephemeral phenomena corresponding to rapid change, and yet coexist with more abiding representations so that their significance is harder to nail. Their resistance to methodology has frustrated historians, Vovelle for one arguing the inadequacy of semiology as an analytical tool and asserting that "décrypter, décoder: ces termes à la mode cachent, sous une forme métaphorique empruntée abusivement aux techniques voisins, une inquiétude réelle en lui donnant le visage de l'assurance."[5] Indeed Vovelle's reservations about the validity of semiological analyses are of some interest less for their critique of the methodology itself than for the difficulties they highlight in the use of visual sources for historical ends.

The semiologist Georges Mounin echoes Vovelle's scepticism. For Mounin, linguistic communication, in which "un seul message [est] possible à la fois" differs fundamentally from the visual in which "tous les messages sont co-présents sur la page".[6] In Mounin's view, all research into the functioning of the image is based on a false assumption, oriented as he believes towards discovering how the reader extracts "un seul message

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[5] ibid, p56.

[6] Mounin, Georges: "Pour une sémiologie de l'image," in Communications et langages, no 22, 2 trimestre 1974, p51. His distinction ignores the connotative power of language which, as in the case of poetry, can also offer a number of meanings simultaneously.

privilégié d'un document qui ne peut pas être lu de manière univoque."[7] For as Vovelle points out, how a message is read depends upon who is reading it.[8] Arguments like these can only be countered by the recognition that images *are* in fact read differently according to subjective experience, that no image *does* have a single message; but in the case of press photographs, headings, captions, associated texts, adjacent images, the character of the publication itself and representations encountered elsewhere all help determine a specific reading. It is precisely the common attitudes to which an image refers through these surrounding texts which direct, if they cannot dictate, how an image is to be understood.

In order to appreciate how images acknowledge or inflect these common attitudes, visual historians have to familiarise themselves with the gamut of representations current in the wider culture. In our image-choked twentieth century this would appear far more daunting a task than it is for historians of earlier periods, to whom a smaller variety of documents is available, yet there is no alternative if historians are to distinguish "idiom from individuality",[9] or indeed from idiosyncracy. This thesis has attempted to work "back and forth between texts and contexts"[10] in its comparisons between the photographs as they appeared in the twelve publications under examination, and through reference to the literature, memoirs, works of art, films and newsreels which make up the photographs' context.

Vovelle's second objection to semiological methodology concerns its limitations in the face of vast quantities of visual material. "La sémiologie de l'image," he writes,

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[7] ibid.

[8] Vovelle, Michel: Idéologiés et mentalites, p73. This observation effectively discounts Mounin's eulogy of the semiotician Albert Plécy's technique of placing a grid over the image so that the "points forts naturels", its "points pertinents," can be the more objectively discerned.

[9] Darnton, Roger: The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1984, p255.

[10] ibid.

> refuse encore de sortir de l'échantillon signicatif, ou avoue son inaptitude au traitement des amples corpus, indispensables à qui veut se tourner vers une approche des phenomènes de masse propres à la culture populaire.[11]

To the historian of *mentalités* seeking to escape "*l'histoire immobile*" in order to chart shifts in attitudes and perceptions over long periods, such restrictions are unacceptable,[12] and it is this which has caused many historians to explore various methods of quantification including the use of computer technology in order better to distinguish changes over "*la longue durée*".[13]

Yet even such moves towards increased precision in dealing with a greater quantity of data are burdened with special difficulties. Quantification tends to presuppose a correlation between the number of images published (in this case) and their influence on the viewing public, even though influence as such can never be precisely measured; such methods are insensitive to visual conventions which can invest a single image with considerable power while an entire series of less impressive examples, although registering significantly in a quantative analysis, may make little visual impact. Moreover, as Vovelle observes, despite the undeniable sophistication of the techniques employed in computer analyses for example,[14] their final results are always and inevitably determined by the choices made by the historian at the outset.[15] Without necessarily adopting the dismissiveness of Lawrence Stone, for whom "the sophistication of the methodology has tended to exceed

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[11] Vovelle, Michel: Ideologies et mentalites, p75.

[12] Vovelle's objections are based no doubt upon Roland Barthes' assertions that, from a practical point of view, the body of images chosen should cover a limited period. "...on préférera donc un corpus varié mais resserré dans le temps à un corpus étroit mais de longue durée, et par exemple si on étudie les faits de presse, un échantillonage des journaux parus à un même moment à la collection d'un même journal paru pendant plusieurs années..." (Barthes, Roland: "Éléments de sémiologie," p134.)

[13] Cf Chartier, Roger: "Intellectual History or Socio-Cultural History: The French Trajectories," in LaCapra, D. and S.L. Kaplan (eds): Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives, Ithaca, London, 1982, p13-46.

[14] See for instance Henri Hudrisier's computer analyses of photographs of the Algerian War in Regard sur l'Algérie: Méthodologie d'une analyse photographique: l'Algérie en guerre 1954-1962.

[15] Vovelle remarks of Hudrisier's work that: "...même si [la prégrille d'analyse] se veut ouvert vers l'extérieur et susceptible d'enrichissement, elle n'en représente pas moins un tri préalable, inévitable entorse au traitement sans préjugés...de la machine. Telle quelle, et sous réserve d'un appréciation de ses résultats, cette suggestion demeure représentative des préoccupations actuelles du chercheur confronté à l'utilisation massive de l'iconographie." (Idéologies et mentalités, p77.)

the reliability of the data,"[16] historians might welcome the move towards increased accuracy in order to lend weight to their generalisations about the popular *mentalité*, while still agreeing with Vovelle that "il ne suffit pas de décrire mais pas non plus de compter pour comprendre."[17]

The singlemost serious criticism which can be levelled at the study of photographs is precisely this question of subjectivity, a criticism which immersion in contemporary sources and an awareness of their limitations for the historian may not sufficiently allay. Yet no historical writing is ever completely divorced from the preoccupations of its own era,[18] and if this thesis *has* been influenced by comparatively recent historical work in the methodologies it employs and the subjects it has broached, it has attempted at the same time to allow the images' own emphases to make themselves felt, and to respect the role of their context in the generation of meaning. It is impossible to calculate the precise impact a particular image may have exercised on its audience; nevertheless, if photographs of women at arms for instance appeared less frequently than pictures of bomb-blasted buildings, the former were still given prominence in my discussion in keeping with the treatment they received in the publications which reproduced them. This was done, it is hoped, without diminishing the significance of the images of the damaged cityscape. Yet the fact remains that my reading of certain photographs may differ from that of another historian; my only defence is that this is true of all historical documents, and that what is important is to offer as sensitive a reading as possible given the imperfect conditions within which the writing of history takes place.

Claims to historical validity in photographic sources based on the concept of *mentalité* are also open to challenge. The notion of *mentalité* itself implies a measure of consensus

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[16] Stone, Lawrence: The Past and Present, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p84.

[17] Vovelle, Michel: Idéologies et mentalités, p78.

[18] In tracing the development of the "school" of *Mentalités* ("Histoire des Mentalités," La Nouvelle Histoire, Les Encyclopédies du Savoir Moderne, Retz, Paris, 1978, pp402-423), Philippe Ariès argues the links between historical work and the concerns of the era in which that history is being written. Thus in the 1940s, he writes, economics seemed to be the key to history; in the 1950s the juxtaposition of disciplines rather than exchange between them seemed to be the favoured practice; while the 1960s and 70s saw a revival and then a decline in socio-economic subjects - developments all closely influenced by the changing preoccupations of the post war-world.

within a given, historically-specific society, and tends to treat attitudes as if they were evenly prevalent within that community. Discussions for example of "the medieval Frenchmen" smother nuance and homogenise difference; while the imputation of a common *mentalité* to a particular class or profession - seventeenth-century lawyers, to borrow Peter Burke's example - rather than to a whole society, simply leads to similar problems on a smaller scale.[19] This reservation can be countered by invoking Jacques Le Goff's suggestion that the term "mentality" ought to characterize "only the given beliefs which an individual shares with a number of other contemporaries," and that the approach should be restricted to "the investigation of common assumptions rather than extending it to the whole of intellectual history."[20]

Bearing the danger of homogenisation in mind, this conclusion will attempt to distinguish the assumptions common to both the pro-Republican and pro-Insurgent camps within Britain and France, to identify the pool of cultural resources from which the political groupings of each nation could draw, while highlighting the overlapping imaginative territories of each country. Yet I must confess to a certain uneasiness in doing so, the evocation of a national mentality hedging uncomfortably close to the very racial and national stereotyping which so marred the thirties in Europe. Fracturing this thesis' discoveries along ideological lines would merely recreate the same problem in microcosm, in the manner Peter Burke's seventeenth century lawyers suggest. These reservations suggest that the insights offered by the study of *mentalité* in a twentieth century context need to be handled with some delicacy, the particularity of idiosyncracy not forgotten in the generality of social belief. On the other hand, the discernment of what gives a society, however fissured by ideological rifts, a certain coherence cannot be without value in a postmodern age distinguished by fragmentation and social dislocation.

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[19] See Burke, Peter: "Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities," in History of European Ideas, 1986, Vol 7, No 5, p443.

[20] Le Goff, Jacques: "Les Mentalités, une histoire ambigüe," in Faire de l'histoire, vol 3, Paris, 1974, pp76-90; paraphrased in Burke, Peter: "Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities," p443.

The acknowledged weakness of the *histoire des mentalités* in charting change over time could also be applied to this thesis.[21] But in deferring to Barthes' model, which recommends the intensive examination of a concentrated body of material spanning a short time period, this thesis has sought to detail some of the characteristics of the *mentalité* of Britain and France as it revealed itself at a particular moment in the history of the two nations, not to map any changes those collective assumptions may have undergone throughout the decade or indeed before or beyond it. In exploration thus of the collective unconscious as observed between July and December 1936, the use of photographs has proven especially rewarding.

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What then do these 3,000 photographs indicate to the historian about the *mentalités* of 1930s Britain and France? Although this thesis has highlighted the points at which the French collective consciousness as revealed through photographs seems to differ from the British, it does not seek to argue that there was no common territory between them. While the search for particularity tends to obscure this, it is as well to remember that "to discuss differences of views of the world need not imply that different groups see the world in *completely* different ways..."[22] Indeed the two nations have so much in common that their differences can assume an exaggerated importance. Nevertheless, in all their attempts to persuade, the ideologically-motivated press of both nations couched their appeals in the vernacular of common assumptions, and it is the daily operation of this collective imagination which the photographs so abundantly reveal. Ostensibly conveying information about the Spanish Civil War, these images in fact hollowed out the particularity of Spain and filled it with culturally-specific beliefs concerning soldiering, race, gender, youth and age, the functioning of urban and social life, and mortality, assumptions pre-existing the photographs in both nations and consistently reinforced by them.

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[21] In "Intellectual History or Socio-Cultural History," p31, Roger Chartier describes this as "the problem on which all history of *mentalités* stumbles [-] that of the reasons for and the *modalités* of the passage from one system to another."

[22] Burke, Peter: "Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities," p443.

Not only did these images play out cultural assumptions specific to the countries that generated them; underlying many was a presupposed cultural ideal, a utopian vision made the benchmark for comparison with Spain. That this might be but an artificial construct was of necessity never acknowledged by photograph or publication; to do so would be to sabotage their propagandist role which was founded upon the illusion of transparency to the real. This ideal, furthermore, was often revealed elliptically, through the frustration or transgresssion of its values, through the contradiction it implied with the visible and the actual. As such, every one of these photographs, in direct and unequivocal contradiction of their claims innocently to represent the "truth", played its part in the fabrication of an even greater myth. What the French and British *wanted* to believe about urban life for example, what they involuntarily confessed about it, seems to me to be far more revealing of their collective unconscious than any direct, "truthful", objective representation could ever hope to be.

Thus although these photographs inserted themselves into press reports about civil war Spain, projected through these images was the notion of another war, an unspecified, idealised, mythical concept to which the French and the British both aspired. This was the image of a "just" war fought honourably and courageously in the interests not of certain political factions but a higher ideal. Morally justified, and fought out in some distant, exotic place, its soldiers courageous, disciplined, selfless, stoic, honourable, benevolent and well-loved by the people whose future they so valiantly defended, the image of war to which both the French and the British subscribed had more in common with myths at least as old as the holy wars than with any twentieth century conflict. The British and French found particular ways of inflecting this image to enhance its power for their own culture - the British emphasizing the respectability of the soldiers they supported, or appealing to the public's sense of justice concerning the unequal terms of battle. The soldiers themselves were humanised for the British through images evoking details of their personal lives, their interests shown to coincide with those of the civilians for whom they fought. Behind this loose depiction of what soldiers and civilians shared lay another motivation - for the British, the desire at once to arouse sympathy but to circumscribe identification, to draw demarkation lines between soldiers and civilians in order to

minimise contagion and discourage involvement, and ultimately to maintain physical if not moral isolation from continental strife.

These cultural inflections emerge more clearly when compared with French interpretations of the same subject. Altogether more engaged than the British, the French representations of soldiers were far more immediate. Action shots highlighting the soldiers' bravery, and photographs in the pro-Republican press depicting both the interchangeability of soldiers and civilians, and the process of transition by which a soldier joined the ranks, brought the terms of conflict into much closer relation with French society. Tradition too was invoked in rationalising participation, the authority of history justifying current involvement as the photographs of Carlist soldiers implied. Potent too for the French public, unlike its British counterpart, was the notion of the defence of culture so important to the Popular Front, protection of the fruits of civilization embodying an imperative for active engagement.

The representation of the Moorish soldiers the Insurgents enlisted into their "crusade" demonstrated in a most vivid manner certain attitudes to race widely-held in Britain and France. Common to both cultures was a stock of received notions about the arab peoples; the apparently contradictory nature of these preconceptions veiled an inherent sense of superiority amongst the Europeans who portrayed them. Photographic assertions of Moorish exoticism, alienness and primitiveness all reinforced that superiority. Aware of the racism informing the popular conscious, the pro-Insurgent press of both nations sought to justify the engagement of Moorish troops by attributing to them the same qualities invoked in their description of the *Spanish* Insurgents, discipline and benevolence foremost among them. The French pro-Insurgent press additionally took advantage of a tradition of romanticism, seen in the portrait of the Sultan of Morocco, in their attempts to reassure their readers that the Moors were benign, although representations of exoticism with regard to arabic peoples were hardly the exclusive province of the French. More prevalent in the British collective consciousness was the notion of arab barbarity, the "terrifying responsibility" they embodied so fit for exploitation by the oppostition press. Further evidence of European condescension, found particularly in the French pro-Republican press, was the image of the Moors as Nazi pawns. If the Moors *had* been

manipulated into joining a crusade whose aims were indifferent to them, the passivity and primitive, childlike ignorance this suggested implied the superior intelligence of Europeans. The racism inherent in these assertions of ignorance and barbarity received subtle but distinct illustration, furthermore, in British representations of the Moors as subservient, second-class citizens.

To the differing attitudes towards soldiering, warfare and race made accessible through the press photographs of Britain and France must be added the differing conceptions of gender roles. No issue brought latent sex-role stereotypes into such violent representational confrontation as did the spectacle of women at arms, its evocation the more dramatic for being mediated by the male gaze. Available to the image-makers of both nations were a number of myths already present in the collective imagination and ripe for adaptation - the *pétroleuses* of the Paris Commune, Bizet's *Carmen*, the Amazons of antiquity and the myths of the soldier. To these can be appended a fifth construction - that of feminine convention, present at the edges of all these images of women at arms, built into the surrounding articles and impinging on the photographs in the advertisements which funded their publication.[23] Although structuralists have argued that "le mythe est toujours constitué d'un système clos d'unités invariables" and that it exists independently of history,[24] these representations of women at arms demonstrate in fact that the opposite is true, that myth is closely adapted to historical circumstance.

While both nations adopted for women, as they did for the Moors, the distinguishing qualities of the ideal soldier in a bid to normalise their participation and suggest a rough equality, each also inflected this myth in accordance with its pertinence to their respective audiences. The two mythical constructs most thoroughly elaborated by the British press in its representation of women at arms - the "Red Carmen" and the "Spanish Amazon" -

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[23] Advertisements from that for Brunswick furs - "le fourrreur qui fait fureur" (l'Illustration, 28 November 1936), which associated women with the symbols of status and class, to the washing powder Persil - "lave tout tout seul" (Le Matin, 1 September 1936, p7), in which the self-effacing woman was rendered invisible by the slogan, reinforced stereotyped images and helped determine how the photographs of women at arms would be read.

[24] Vovelle, Michel: Idéologies et mentalités, pp73-4. Exposing this practice, Vovelle continues: "L'analyse structuraliste a obstinément tenté de soustraire l'analyse des mythes à la compétence de l'histoire..."

although promoting quite divergent conceptions, in fact had much more in common than was initially apparent. In both, the female gender in the context of war carried a powerful, negative charge. For the "Red Carmens", taking up arms was equivalent to and indeed heralded both depravity and immorality, and spoke of sexuality run rampant in direct contradiction of feminine norms. The "Spanish Amazon", although intended to convey a positive image of women who had joined the ranks, functioned as a fetishistic avowal/denial of gender. Having first mutilated themselves and then been endowed with the attributes generally accorded the mythical fighting *man* before they were allowed to take part in battle, the Amazons could only become a positive image for women at arms when their sexuality had been suppressed or represented as male.

The French press, in contrast, in adopting the myth of the *pétroleuse*, simultaneously articulated a radically different view of the gender issue. With the *pétroleuse* herself drawn from the nation's own history, the possibility of alternative and unconventional roles for women had already informed the French collective unconscious, whatever the image's connotations. In this, gender was integral and positive, and was not transformed or repressed. Even in representations projected by the French pro-Insurgent press, sex was considered a positive factor even if mitigated by those symbols of safe, conventional femininity - skirts, and young children. The singling out of individual women for particular attention - the French pro-Republican press mentioned some by name in captions praising their courage and dedication in a manner never done for men - signals a strikingly different attitude to gender difference and sex-role stereotyping. Greater acceptance of unconventional roles and openness to behavioural change seemed characteristic of the French *mentalité*.

Implied within both the French and British photographic representations of women at arms was nevertheless a consciousness of the unusual nature of these women's behaviour, that it constituted a departure from the mores of female comportment. This recognition was used in both nations as a rhetorical device intensifying photographic statements of commitment or belief. Underlying this process was the assumption that women engaged in politics, direct action, public life and even warfare only under conditions of dire need, that their rightful status, no matter how accepting of alternatives a society might be, was

in essence far more conventional; the apparent progressiveness of the French *mentalité* must be understood in this light of these assumptions.

Youth and age were employed in similar fashion. Both nations for example readily emphasized youth (of women at arms, of militiamen captured by the Insurgents, of children made the victims of atrocities) when it could be used in making a political point. This too implied a certain ideal - that youth was an arcadia untroubled by the exigencies of politics or the physical menace of war. The French press was particularly concerned with the plight of children in war, their misfortunes exploited for propagandist ends; such images reavealed through transgression their notion of a childhood idyll. Images of middle-aged women who had joined the militias, or of the elderly fleeing their homes as refugees, also became propagandist weapons effective chiefly because of the divergence they implied from customary behavioural norms. Used in combination (femaleness and youth, femaleness and age), their impact could be potent. In this sense youth, age, and the condition of being female - attributes of the socially weak which a community traditionally sought to protect - emerged as highly-charged components in the collective imagination of each society.

In their representation of Spanish society under the impact of war, the photographs published in the French and British press presupposed a model of social life which referred directly to their own cultural ideals. They sought confirmation of their preconceptions of Spanish life as simple and traditional, and found it for example in images of labour in which women washed clothes at communal village troughs, and in photographs of whole communities working harmoniously in industries such as orange-growing. Leisure too was conceived in largely traditional terms, as images of bullfights suggested. Equally potent in both Britain and France, photographs like these corresponded to an image of social life as a rural idyll, traditional in its values and harmonious in its expressions, by which the disruptiveness of war was consistently measured.

In both nations to the church was seen as providing a belief-system uniformly-shared, its calendar rituals marking and mediating the community's rites of passage. Whether emphasis lay on the subversion of this idyll, marked in the British press by the breakdown

of the church's role as symbolised by the destruction of its property, or on continuity despite the war, as maintained by the French in images of the celebrations of the *Vierge des Rois* in Seville, both nations still shared a vision of an idealised society to which the role of the church was integral.

The family unit was the preferred basis for French and British representations of civilian life; the separations and losses that shattered families in Spain again presupposed an inverse ideal. Similarly the segregations undergone by village communities implied divergence from a tranquil rural ideal. As such, these social "norms" posited by both the French and British suggest a yearning for some long-lost utopia, a pre-industrial society little related to modern Britain or France, and indeed only partially to Spain.

Photographs of refugees helped define British and French notions of the social ideal for embodying so clearly its antithesis. Images of refugee women and children setting out along the treeless roads of Spain, or waiting passively for trucks to ferry them to safety, constituted a fragmentation of the family idyll and a contradiction of the French and British vision of the utopian village norm. Towards the end of the civil war, when Picture Post began depicting entire villages taking to the road together, this breakdown of the social dream was simply played out on a larger scale, whole communities on the move striking a particular chord in Britain which only a few years previously had witnessed hunger marchers - a home-grown brand of victim - taking to the road as *their* desperate last resort. The femininisation of these victims - even the male refugees were depicted as passive and dependent - recorded a breakdown of traditional and idealised family roles, while the representation of these refugees on open-ended journeys, or in narratives closed on foreign soil, presupposed a version of normality where stability not mobility, the permanent not the temporary, ultimately prevailed. The anxieties which this spectacle of victims on the move provoked in each nation also elicited differences in their collective unconscious. British island fears of invasion were neatly transferred to the Gibraltar context with the assumption that the protectorate was a destination not a transit point for fleeing civilians, while the French economic crises of the thirties meant concerns about the influx of refugees over France's southern border were couched in economic terms.

Just as the representation of refugees implied a social ideal characterised by permanence and cohesion, so too did photographs of the urban environment in war presuppose an ideal inverse. The destruction caused by the air-raid was the chief catalyst of this inversion, the representation of devastation implying an urban norm which in turn was directly related to a further ideal. Both the British and the French shared a concept of modern urban life which provided stability of function, continuity in communications and transportation, and a structural logic and integrity, while guaranteeing the privacy and security of its inhabitants. Both nations sought to uphold such values in the face of the absurd interventions, unpredictable changes and indiscriminate destruction war imposed on the city environment. Each nation posed its own yardstick in measurement of war's disruption of the urban ideal, the French harking back to the Spanish past construed as a tranquil utopia for comparison, the British referring to the tourist memories of those readers wealthy enough to have travelled, or positing Britain herself as the benchmark. The essential irony running through the entire French and British photographic representation of the urban environment, however, is that these ideal values of stability, continuity, integrity, privacy and security, and the notions of community and ritual as characteristic of social life within it, seemed to comprise the determining elements of a romanticized *rural* past which the collective unconscious of each nation still sought in its urban reality. The urban dream could be seen as nothing but a rural myth reworked.

It was through the representation of mortality that the most thoroughgoing differences in the respective *mentalités* of Britain and France made themselves felt. Although British and French representations of injury had much in common, differences became apparent in the representation of death, highlighting attitudinal differences particular to each society. Both countries displayed a certain reluctance to confront the full implications of injury in war, whether the wounds were sustained by soldiers *or* civilians. Little connection was ever made between the incidence of air-raids and civilian injury on the ground, despite the intense photographic concentration on the damage wrought to the physical environment. Civilians could be depicted fleeing towards air-raid shelters; but the photographs never indicated that sometimes flight was in vain. No photographs ever explored the process of injury. Soldiers were only ever metaphorically wounded, their injuries only ever received within the secure radius of assistance by comrades or medical staff. Wounding itself was

even represented as pleasurable in a bizarre extension of euphemism which saw the smiling wounded surrounded by attractive nurses or playing cards in a converted casino. Above all, injury almost never led to death.

The French representation was, within these limits, more frank than the British. The brutality of injury was, on occasions, represented in the French press with a directness never attempted in the British, as for example the photograph of a small girl, one leg amputated following a bomb explosion, amply testified. On the other hand, comradeship was also more readily invoked by the French in order to soften their representations of war wounding. It was only after two and a half years of war that Picture Post and Match could publish a photograph explicitly linking injury to death, in the Robert Capa photograph of a wounded soldier dictating his dying words; the photograph nonetheless was so imbued with pathos that it could hardly be considered as representing a shift in public sensibility. Overall, the British press was closely attuned to public sensitivity and conscientiously gauged - and culled - those scenes "too gruesome for public showing." It was not that the French press was necessarily any less sensitive; rather the *mentalité* of its public was more accepting of representations of harsher truths.

Photographs of fatalities in war revealed the same dichotomy more deeply etched. Although both the French and the British aestheticised and euphemised their representations of death, the additional, more direct portrayal remained the province exclusively of the French. If death was to be rendered publicly acceptable in the British press, it had to be distanced or sensationalised, or mediated by metonyms or symbols. The press was not an acceptable vehicle for familiarising the public with its eventuality, as the lengthy justifications explaining the unusual measure of publishing atrocity photographs bore witness in the Daily Worker; such rationalisations were deemed a necessary correlative to the breaking of strongly-held taboos. More usually, the British press satisfied itself with photographs of funerals, the ritual itself a metaphor which kept death's more disturbing face safely averted.

The funeral image was but one amongst several representational possibilities open to the French press in its portrayal of fatality in war; photographs of funerals were only

infrequently employed. Other images of the dead abounded, more explicit photographs quite acceptable to the French public. Mores preventing the portrayal of the uglier aspects of war-fatality were less apparent amongst the French, who freely depicted open-eyed cadavers and flowing blood in photographs often of considerable impact. Indeed Vu's very first image of the Spanish Civil War was a photograph of the bloodied body of the monarchist leader Calvo Sotelo laid out in a morgue. A sense of the devaluation of life by war was effectively conveyed by the French in photographs depicting multiple deaths in public places, bodies lying beside animals in city streets and squares. The only truly horrifying photographs of death published in the French press were the two sets of atrocity photographs published in Regards, the accompanying explanations more concerned with the establishment of authority than the justification of publication. As in the representation of injury, fatality for the French was frequently couched in pathos designed to intensify the photographs' impact; the death-taboo which so distinguished the representation of war by the British press was much less apparent among the French.

That the French mentality was, unlike the British, not only more accepting of the concept of death, but indeed fascinated by it, is made evident in its publication of Robert Capa's most famous photograph "Death of a Republican Soldier." Although the reasons it was *not* published simultaneously in Britain may be more closely tied to availability and copyright than mentality, we *can* speculate as to its significance for the French image-consuming public. Despite the greater frankness of French images of death, the French people, like the British, had still been spared truly horrific photographs of war like those Alan Trachtenberg describes arising from the American Civil War.[25] Yet even so there is within this image a disavowal of the suspicion that death in war might be far more harrowing than commonly depicted or believed. With its celebration of individual heroism, the natural, poeticising imagery that imbued it, its implication that death in war mattered and was not meaningless or in vain, that idealism was possible and counted, this photograph entertained a double movement of shock and reassurance which seems to correspond to a desired belief in the French popular unconscious that death was not so

[25] Trachtenberg, Alan: "Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs," Representations 9, Winter 1985, especially pp8-12. In this article Trachtenberg describes a series of unpublished but disturbing images showing the remains of soldiers strewn over the Antietam battlefield.

terrible after all. Its operation recalls that of the fetish - denial and substitution in an attempt to mitigate fear.

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The subsequent renown of the Robert Capa photograph, lifted to fame on the shoulders of a modernity which could guarantee its dissemination worldwide, is due in part to the subject of the image itself, and in part to the means of its promulgation. But its importance surpasses the detail captured within its frame, no matter how controversial; what it stands for, what the image in turn *represents*, places it firmly on the threshhold of the modern age which photography innocently and unsuspectingly ushered in with its invention almost one hundred years before. This photograph is at once sign and quintessential product of that age, an era in which image has become reality and this reality, belief.

In his essay: "The Jabbering of Social Life," Michel de Certeau charts this movement from image to belief as a process in which ideas are replaced by "statistics" and "facts" which themselves are spun into fictional narratives which then become the grounds of belief. Our society, he writes,

> has become a narrated society in a threefold sense: it is defined by *narratives* (the fables of our advertising and information), by *quotations* of them, and by their interminable *recitation*.[26]

Repeated recitation of a fact, a statistic, or a photograph is according to de Certeau a powerful means by which to effect the transformation of information into conviction. Already in 1936 the early stages of this process were apparent, the use of wire service photographs allowing any number of publications to print the same photograph simultaneously.[27] Furthermore, among the publications under review, newspapers like Le

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[26] De Certeau, Michel: "The Jabbering of Social Life," in Blonsky, Marshall: On Signs, p152.

[27] Paris-Soir (2 August 1936, p6), L'Illustration (8 August 1936, p433), the Daily Mail (12 August 1936, p16) and Reynolds' News (30 August 1936, p4) for example all published the same photograph of a Republican woman holding her baby daughter while the child clasped a revolver in her hands, such "recitation" of "facts" bearing out de Certeau's observations. Cf above, Chapter 3: Part B: The Anthropology of Civilian Life, p176ff.

Matin did not hesitate to reproduce a particular photograph on multiple occasions,[28] while the Daily Mail quoted in cropped form from photographs it had published in previous issues, each version corroborating the former.[29] Within these processes of recitation de Certeau detects the emergence of a new concept of belief:

> Such narratives have the strange and two-fold power of changing sight into belief and of manufacturing reality out of simulacra: a dual inversion...modernity - once born of an observant will struggling against credulity and basing itself on a contract between the seen and the real - has now transformed that relationship and gives to be seen precisely what must be believed.[30]

In this way, repeated exposure in a variety of locations ranging from books to galleries has transformed public reaction to "Death of a Republican Soldier" from incredulity to belief, its institutionalization supposedly guaranteeing its truthfulness. The power of the photograph's subject, derived from an apprehension of the split-second timing required of the photographer in order to capture the precise instant of a man crossing the borderline between life and death, has lent the photograph an aura approaching the legendary. This has been achieved despite Walter Benjamin's lament in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," that the infinite reproducibility of an art object pries it away from its shell, destroys its aura, and is the sign of a sensibility whose "'sense of the universal equality of things' has increased to such a degree that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction."[31] The aura of the Capa photograph defies its reproducibility and is predicated upon the authenticity of its original negative to which it refers as an object of unique manufacture.

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[28] Le Matin, on page 1 of its issues for 23 and 24 July 1936, reprinted the same photographic portrait of "general Molla" (sic) which it had published on the front page on the 21st.

[29] The weeping women of the Valladolid funeral for example appeared in the Daily Mail on 18 and 20 August 1936, pp16 and 8 respectively. Cf Chapter 3: Part B: The Anthropology of Civilian Life, p191.

[30] De Certeau, Michel: "The Jabbering of Social Life," p152.

[31] Benjamin, Walter: "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations, Jonathan Cape, London, 1970. p225. See also "Walter Benjamin's Short History of Photography," in Artforum, 15/6 February 1977, pp46-51.

The suspicions cast by Gallagher and Knightley on the authenticity of the "Death of a Republican Soldier" have led to such passionate denials by supporters like Georges Soria precisely because they involve the dissipation of the image's aura and a consequent relinquishing of the beliefs invested in it, the conviction that what happened in Spain was honourable and meaningful, not a ruse into which those who went there were ignominiously duped. Soria's defence is a measure of the strength of those convictions and the tenacity with which they are held still. But the question of the photograph's authenticity has ramifications which extend beyond the personal. If, as now seems likely, the "Death of a Republican Soldier" *was* staged for the camera, whatever the motivations which provoked it, we as audience are introduced squarely into the age in which, as Benjamin recognized, "the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility."[32] Although it is true that the *raison d'être* of all press photographs is reproducibility, the pre-arrrangement of the Capa image implies manipulation in order to guarantee that reproduction, the appearance of fortituousness deliberately contrived to this end. As such, as an *in*authentic image or sign with no referent, this photograph becomes a precursor of the new realm which Jean Baudrillard has termed "l'ordre du simulacre."

In Simulations, Baudrillard lists the succession of signifying systems leading to the modern age in which Capa's photograph finds new significance. He lists four "successive phases of the image":

> - it is the reflection of a basic reality
> - it masks and perverts a basic reality
> - it masks the absence of a basic reality
> - it bears no relation to any reality whatsoever: it is its own pure simulacrum.[33]

Invoking Disneyland, Watergate, and the Vietnam and Algerian Wars in illustration of the simulacral ("Disneyland is there to conceal the fact that it is the "real country", all of America, which *is* Disneyland"), Baudrillard expounds his vision of this new era:

> ...the age of simulation thus begins with a liquidation of all referentials - worse: by their artificial resurrection in systems of signs, a more ductile

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[32] Benjamin, Walter: "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," p226.

[33] Baudrillard, Jean: Simulations, Semiotext(e), New York, 1983, p11.

> material than meaning...It is no longer a question of imitation, nor of reduplication, nor even of parody. It is rather a question of substituting signs of the real for the real itself.[34]

While the Capa photograph is perhaps the most marked example of Baudrillard's simulacrum with its artificial resurrection of timeless signs, the simulacrum was evident to varying degrees in other image-forms as well, most notably in the air-raid photographs taken from above the vulnerable cityscape. As Michel de Certeau writes of the panoptic view from the "celestial eye" of the aircraft:

> Can the vast technology beneath our gaze be anything but a representation? An optical artefact...The city panorama is a "theoretical" (ie visual) simulacrum: in short, a picture, of which the preconditions for feasibility are forgetfulness and a misunderstanding of processes.[35]

De Certeau's recognition of the abstract nature of the aerial view, and its misrepresentation of the processes it both depicts and conceals, confirms Allan Sekula's comments that such images attain an "almost wholly denotative significance" at the expense of the human and political meanings of war.[36] Although none of the air-raid photographs published during the period under examination attained the level of abstraction Sekula describes, still the "Death of a Republican Soldier" and the aerial photographs demonstrate most clearly what has been argued in various ways throughout this thesis: that not one of the photographs of the Spanish Civil War published in the press of Britain and France provided a transparent reproduction of "reality" in civil war Spain. On the threshhold of the age of the simulacrum, every one of these 1930s images can be seen as substituting signs of the real for the real itself. They were anchored not to any concrete, indexical reality but to the intangible and the elusive, to things as insubstantial as the fears and dreams and imaginings of the collective unconscious.

It is perhaps an unarticulated awareness of the gulf between sign and referent, between photographic image and "the real", and a perception too of aura vanishing in the age of

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[34] ibid, p4.

[35] De Certeau, Michel: "Practices of Space," in Blonsky, M (ed): On Signs, p124.

[36] Sekula, Allan: "The Instrumental Image: Steichen at War," p28.

electronic reproduction, which has elevated not Robert Capa's "Death of a Republican Soldier," tarnished already by suspicion, but Picasso's Guernica into the enduring symbol of the Spanish Civil War. Tonally influenced by the contrasts of press photography, its symbolic lights and the anguished eyes of witnesses testifying to the need for the truth to be told, Guernica succeeded where all the press photographs failed in speaking directly and urgently about the human cost of this most brutal of wars not just to the conscience of its own generation, but indeed to ours. It is a sign of our own *mentalité* that, fifty years on from these events and mesmerised by the dance of simulacra before our eyes, we too should resist the empty sign and seek instead the abiding aura of a masterpiece as our memorium.

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